Daily Report

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Dubcek's Bologna Visit 'Almost Certain'

AU0109124688 Rome ANSA in English
1225 GMT 1 Sep 88

[Text] (ANSA) Prague, September 1—"Prague Spring" leader Alexander Dubcek met here Wednesday with envoys from Bologna University who handed him the formal invitation to attend the ceremony at which he will be awarded an honorary degree to mark the university's 900th anniversary, reliable sources reported today.

The sources said that the letter specified that Dubcek will be the university's guest until the end of November and that the award ceremony on November 12 will be filmed.

The ceremony was originally planned in September, but was postponed because of what university sources described as "bureaucratic uncertainties and organisational problems".

They explained that the "uncertainties" had been sorted out with the Czechoslovak ambassador in Rome, but by then there was no room on the university's calendar of 9th-centennial events in September.

According to the sources here, it now seem almost certain that Dubecek will be allowed to leave for Italy. The Italian Embassy issued an entry visa for a month on August 10 and now he needs Czechoslovakia's "travel sheet", a leaf added to the passport authorising foreign travel.

In official circles and circles close to Dubcek, no doubts are now voiced that the document will in fact be issued.

Jakes Discusses Defense With USSR's Ogarkov

LD0109175388 Prague CTK in English
1601 GMT 1 Sep 88

[Text] Prague Sept 1 (CTK)—General Secretary of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Presidium Milos Jakes received here today Marshal of the Soviet Union Nikolay Ogarkov and Army General Stanislav Postnikov.

They discussed questions of mutual cooperation between the two countries in ensuring defence capability of the allied states of the Warsaw Treaty.

Also present was Czechoslovak defense minister, Army General Milan Vaclavik.

Jakes Attends DPRK Embassy Reception

LD0109110288 Prague Domestic Service in Czech
1630 GMT 31 Aug 88

[Text] DPRK Ambassador Kim Kwang-sop gave a reception in Prague this evening on the occasion of the national day of DPRK, the 40th anniversary of its foundation. Taking part were Milos Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee; Vasil Bilak, Presidium member and secretary of the party; Frantisek Hanus, secretary of the Central Committee, members of the Secretariat of the Party Central Committee; Zdenek Horeni, Vasil Mohorita, and Miroslav Stepan and other personalities of our political, and public life, and members of the Prague diplomatic corps.

Obzina Receives Japanese Trade Representatives

LD2908222388 Prague CTK in English
1914 GMT 29 Aug 88

[Text] Prague Aug 29 (CTK)—Czechoslovak Deputy Prime Minister and Chairman of the State Commission for Scientific-Technological Development and Investments Jaromir Obzina received here today representatives of Japanese banking, trade and industrial circles headed by Michio Matsukawa.

They discussed the possibilities of the further development of mutually advantageous economic and scientific-technological contacts and expressed interest in their development. Jaromir Obzina informed the Japanese representatives of the Czechoslovak Government's intentions in the development of economy, science and technology and of the aims of the restructuring of the economic mechanism, which also envisage wider international cooperation.

Husak Flies Over Poland, Greets Jaruzelski

LD0109142988 Prague Domestic Service in Czech
0900 GMT 1 Sep 88

[Text] President Gustav Husak who is on his way to the PRC, has sent a greetings telegram to Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee. While flying over Poland, he has expressed confidence that the traditional friendship and cooperation between the two countries will continue to develop to the benefit of the peoples of Czechoslovakia and Poland.

Lenart Addressess Regional CPCZ Meeting

LD3008215288 Prague Domestic Service in Czech
1630 GMT 30 Aug 88

[Text] The South Bohemian Regional Committee of the CPCZ discussed at Ceske Budejovice today fulfillment of the conclusions of the seventh and the ninth sessions of the party's Central Committee, the current progress of restructuring of the economic mechanism and safeguarding economic tasks. Taking part in the session was Jozef Lenart, Presidium member and secretary of the party's Central Committee who talked in the discussion about topical tasks connected with the given set of problems.

The deliberations concluded that South Bohemian enterprises of centrally controlled industry succeeded in fulfilling the planned tasks in the first half year which, however, were of lower progression than in the previous years. The effect of this is that the results do not represent the qualitative changes envisaged by the directive of the Eighth 5-Year-Plan. Subject to criticism was the fact that some leading employees narrow down the ideas about restructuring merely to implementation of demanding investment program with little efficiency, long returnability of invested funds and with insufficient use of science and technology in practice.

Travnicek Address on Slovak Uprising Anniversary
LD2908220188 Prague CTK in English 1649 GMT 29 Aug 88

[Text] Prague Aug 29 (CTK)—The bequest of the Slovak National Uprising is everlasting and still topical for the Czechoslovak people, deputy chairman of the Czechoslovak National Front Tomas Travnicek stated here today at a rally marking the 44th anniversary of the Slovak National Uprising.

He said that it is the bequest of the national-liberation struggle waged under the leadership of the Czechoslovak Communist Party and aimed at restoring freedom of our peoples, independence and sovereignty of our homeland. In this respect, one of the most important decisions of the Slovak and Czech peoples was to link their lives and existence forever with their most faithful friend—the Soviet Union, Tomas Travnicek said.

He pointed out that the revolutionary resolution of the participants in the Slovak National Uprising, their enthusiasm and heroism are a bequest which we now follow in implementing the strategy of the acceleration of Czechoslovakia's economic and social development as set forth by the 17th Congress of the Czechoslovak Communist Party. "We consider the implementation of the restructuring of the economic mechanism and democratization of all society the most important and as for its character and significance a really revolutionary task of the present stage of the development of socialism. We are not alone in pursuing this line. We carefully watch the development in other socialist states and above all the Soviet Union whose experience has always been and is an inspiring example for us," Tomas Travnicek stressed.

A rally marking the 44th anniversary of the Slovak National Uprising was held in Bratislava today, attended by Czechoslovak Communist Party Presidium members First Secretary of the Slovak Communist Party Presidium members First Secretary of the Slovak Communist Party Ignac Janak and Slovak Premier Peter Colotka, and other representatives.

The participants in the rally were addressed by Presidium member and Secretary of the Slovak Communist Party Central Committee Gejza Slapka.

Adamec Begins North Moravia Tour
LD2908204388 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1600 GMT 29 Aug 88

[Text] Ladislav Adamec, member of the Presidium of the CPCZ Central Committee and Czech Premier, arrived in North Moravia today for a 2-day working visit. In the Frydek-Mistek District, he was briefed on recent changes there. He was particularly interested in problems in agriculture and supplying the population, working conditions and the environment, and the quality and profits of industrial enterprises.

In the Paskov cellulose works, Comrade Adamec asked people if they support restructuring the economic mechanism and showed interest in the brigade form of organization of labor and remuneration, scientific-technical development, and the system of management.

In the afternoon, Comrade Ladislav Adamec visited the wood processing combine in Vrbno Pod Pradedem.

State of Environment in Slovakia Unsatisfactory
AU2908112188 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 24 Aug 88 p 2

[CTK report: "Deterioration of the Environment Halted"]

[Text] Bratislava—The deterioration of the environment in the Slovak SR has been halted during the first 2 years of the current 5-Year Plan. However, sufficient conditions for improving the situation through the year 1990, that is, for nature to be able to eliminate the negative influences of human activity with its own mechanisms, have not been created. Pavol Frolkovic, Slovak deputy minister of interior and environment, made this statement at a press conference in Bratislava yesterday [23 August]. He noted that a fundamental turn toward improving the environment has not occurred. Of the 12 planned sewage plants, only seven were completed last year. The number of instances of water pollution caused by accidents has been increasing. The effect of emitted pollutants on the purity of the atmosphere has been stabilized. However, the permitted average daily concentrations are being exceeded during unfavorable climatic conditions, for example in Bratislava, upper Nitra, Ziar nad Hronom, and Ruzomberok. Therefore, a system monitoring the purity of the atmosphere is being tested in the Slovak capital. Long-lasting pollution of the atmosphere has an impact on the health of forests, of which 28 percent are already damaged in Slovakia. In the course of the current 5-Year Plan, ecological projects worth Kcs6.1 billion are to be built in Slovakia; however, in the first 2 years only 22.5 percent of that sum was invested. Therefore, ways are being sought to make the construction of ecology-related projects economically more advantageous through the use of economies of scale.

Young Miners Protest Recent Prague Disturbances
AU2908155988 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 26 Aug 88 p 1

[Letter in the "Word on the Day" column: "We Are Not Indifferent"]

[Text] We are young people who work in one of the most difficult sectors of our national economy. Every day we grapple with complex obstacles of nature—the mining-geological conditions of excavating mine shafts. We perceive our difficult work as our contribution to the creation of better living conditions for our families and society. Therefore, we cannot remain indifferent to the reports on the disturbances in Prague. Let us not permit the provoking of unrest. That is really the last thing we need.

[Signed] Youth Brigade of Socialist Labor of Mine Drifters of the Czechoslovak-Soviet Friendship, headed by chief foreman Rudolf Fons, the Ostrava-Karvina basin, Mine Doubrava, concern enterprise, Orlova.

Civil Rights Activist Released From Prison
AU3008124388 Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 30 Aug 88 p 2

[Unattributed article: "Surprising Release of Civil Rights Activists From GDR Prison"]

[Text] Frankfurt, 29 August—Hans-Joachim Pfeifer, civil rights activist from Zwenkau (Saxonia), who had been sentenced to 16 months imprisonment by the Leipzig-Sued district court on 31 March 1988, was surprisingly released from prison without having served the full term. Together with his wife and their 13-year old son he got permission to emigrate to the FRG. This has now been disclosed by the International Society for Human Rights in Frankfurt. Pfeifer had been sentenced to imprisonment because of "hampering state and social activities"—he had put up a big sign at his house with a quotation from the UN Human Rights Charter.

Study on Exit Visas for Physicians 'Leaked'
AU3008163988 Bonn DIE WELT in German 30 Aug 88 p 4

["hrk." article: "No Disadvantages Through Physicians' Emigration"]

[Text] Berlin—Medical care for the GDR's 16 million citizens would not be threatened or impaired at all if East Berlin were to grant exit visas to all 3,000 of its physicians and dentists who want to move to the West. This is the result of an internal study by independent GDR groups, which has leaked to the West. The Evangelical Church, above all, has long pointed to an imminent lack of medical care if the trend to emigrate continues among the GDR's 40,000 physicians.

In the meantime, the SED has tried to solve the problem with its own methods—a total suspension of exit visas for physicians. At the same time, the GDR on 1 July—after more than 30 years—considerably increased the salary of doctors: Young medical specialists now earn at least as much as skilled workers.

The above-mentioned study proves that, according to official GDR documents, the country regards itself as belonging to "the states with a high density of physicians." This emerges from the 1987 annual report issued by the "Institute for Medical Statistics and Data Processing" in East Berlin. According to this report, in 1982 there were 27.5 doctors to every 10,000 GDR citizens. The corresponding figures for the United States and the FRG are of about the same order with 24 (in 1980), and 27.3 (in 1981), respectively.

Even if the authorities were to issue exit visas to all of the 3,000 applicants at once, this would entail no adverse statistical effects: "In relation to the 1988 figures it would mean that if all doctors who applied for exit visas were dismissed, the density of physicians would roughly be equivalent to that of 2 years ago," the report states. Its authors point out that "the efficiency of the public health service," praised by NEUES DEUTSCHLAND as recently as 15 July, has been achieved, despite the enormous demands on and inroads into the physicians' time—for example, by the 1-year SED party school. The authors also depict the fact that the GDR can afford "to remove physicians, who have applied for exit visas, from their leading or responsible positions" as a sign of the 'stability' that exists in the medical care sector.

The suspension of exit visas for physicians is obviously connected with the fact that lately a number of internationally renowned specialists—of the East Berlin Charite, for example—did not return to the GDR from official trips to the West.

Fischer, PRK's Chea Sim Discuss Relations
LD0109191688 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1713 GMT 31 Aug 88

[Text] Berlin, 31 Aug (ADN)—Foreign Affairs Minister Oskar Fischer met on Wednesday with Chea Sim, member of the Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Party [DPRP] Central Committee Political Bureau, special ambassador of the general secretary of the KPRP Central Committee and chairman of the PRK Council of State, Heng Samrin, for a friendly talk.

The partners in the talks exchanged opinions on current international questions and drew a positive balance sheet on the state of bilateral relations.

Chea Sim gave information on the results of the informal meeting to solve the Cambodia question in July in Bogor/Indonesia and on the efforts of the PRK to carry this process further. He gave the assurance that the PRK would advance unwaveringly on the course it has adopted toward national reconciliation. This policy corresponds to the vital interests of the Cambodian people. Chea Sim thanked the party and state leadership and the people of the GDR for the active, supportive solidarity with the PRK.

Oskar Fischer stressed that the German Democratic Republic supports the solution of conflicts by peaceful means. International developments in recent times show clearly that there is no alternative to this in the interests of world peace. For this reason the GDR greets the constructive proposals of the PRK and other participants at the informal meeting, who are aiming for a just, political solution to the Cambodia question.

In particular the Seven Point Plan set out by Cambodian Prime Minister Hun Sen, which also foresees the creation of a Council of National Reconciliation of the Cambodian parties in the conflict under the chairmanship of Sihanouk, represents an important contribution to the regulation of the conflict.

Grosz, Others at Miners Day Festival

LD0109200788 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1630 GMT 1 Sep 88

[Text] [Announcer] On the occasion of the 38th Miners Day, a central festival was held at the construction workers headquarters in Budapest. Gabor Bankuti reports.

[Bankuti] Laszlo Kovacs, secretary general of the Miners Trade Union, opened the festival and then Karoly Grosz, party general secretary and premier, delivered a greeting. After words of tribute, he spoke about our economic situation. He emphasized that the pace of economic growth is reaching the plan's lower limit, the new tax system is functioning, the government's organization and work style are being transformed. This is the modest result of the first year of the stabilization program which bears in itself an initial uncertainty and a temporary weakening of management effectiveness. Here is how he continued:

[Begin Grosz recording] Nowadays, the criticism is often heard that government is not keeping its promises, primarily as regards the envisaged pace of the growth of consumers prices. This is a very complex sphere of issues which contains economic, political, and ethical elements. The promises are tied to conditions. The most important condition of their fulfillment, the increase of production efficiency, falls short of what is desired. Thus, government faces the dilemma of either rigidly adhering to keeping its earlier promises, or diverging from them in the interest of the future.

We have decided in favor of the latter, openly accepting the unfavorable political consequences of this, but not endangering the country's economic and social balance. Government initiates genuine changes in the economy's system of economic, social, and political conditions alike, for a speeding up of structural transformation. Economic relations will become easier to survey; regulation will become more uniform. The flow of capital and workforce will become freer; it will be easier to gain access to imports.

The legal foundations for all this will be laid by the new company law, the uniform tax law on enterprise profits, the new wage regulation, or by the regulators that promote the influx of foreign capital. That is, the reform process will become more intensive; a social and economic democracy of a new quality will be formed. For this, however, time is necessary, of which we have a scarcity at present.

If it works, this democracy can not recognize mediocre performances with payment, and it can not, with prolonged support, ensure them opportunities to survive. In the interest of progress, our society must bear the liquidation of obsolete, inefficient structures. Accepting the coming about of considerable tensions and learning how to handle and work them off, policy and the government must be strong and consistent in the interest of the majority. Economic structure-change and economic management with a greater degree of freedom, which really mobilizes creative energies, are inconceivable without a large-scale reduction of subsidies which are now very widespread.

Therefore, the intention which has been declared for a long time, can not be further postponed, even if it offends group and individual interests. This process must take place in public, otherwise, the part-interests which arise will constantly exert pressure on the leadership, to the detriment of the collective interests.

The Council of Ministers has resolved that it will continue on this path to the end resolutely, but with sensible gradualness. We have worked out a 3-year program for reducing subsidies, and we shall continuously submit this to the National Assembly.

Our intention is that next year, already, we should reduce budget subsidies by 30-40 billion forints. When we speak in generalities about this endeavor of ours, there is almost full agreement in the entire country; everyone understands the necessity of this. However, when the first concrete step is taken, objections are immediately voiced, the dangers are upgraded, and the No 1 requirement—economic rationalism—is pushed into the background. The most often voiced concern regarding the structure-change, a radical economic policy serving acceleration of modernization, is that inflation will break loose. It is indisputable: A process with a very unfavorable impact is the issue at hand. If it were to break loose, the economy's balance would break down; uncontrollable processes would get underway. However, it also must be understood that inflation is a surface phenomenon, one of appearance. Behind it lie the disturbances of the economy's structural relations of efficiency, financial balance.

It is in our fundamental economic, social, and political interest that we should realize the radical turnabout, alongside the smallest possible degree of inflation, which, however, does not restrict the equilibrating of markets. It can already be seen, now, that the increase of the price level next year will be similar to this year's, because taking into account of our debt-servicing burdens, there is no other way that a market balance might come about. [end recording]

[Bankuti] Analyzing the situation in the mining industry, the party general secretary said that it was not in our interest to drastically reduce mining, and nor was it justified to allow the share of our domestic output in our energy consumption to fall below 50 percent. The people's economy was not in a position, however, to tolerate mining enterprises which operate at a loss year after year. These must either be wound up or forced to produce an acceptable economic performance. He warned that the mistakes of previous pit closures needed to be avoided even at uneconomic places, the possibility

of a restart had to be provided there as well. Karoly Grosz read out a letter he had received from Pecs miners, and he replied to all its points. I would like to recall one thought which did not apply only to miners:

[Begin Grosz recording] It is my conviction that demands for so-called priority earnings [kiemelt joevedelmek] are not justified in any profession. But everyone is justified in demanding remuneration for work on the basis of the value of the work and strict productivity. If in time we reach the realization of this recognition, I take it for granted that mining wages will still fall into the highest category, without the need for any special treatment.

Differences in wages in different professions is not a question of favoritism or subjective assessment on the part of the administration. It must be the consequences of economic rationality. This circle of problems can be solved within a few years by transforming wages policy. [end recording]

[Bankuti] A few words about the work stoppage:

[Begin Grosz recording] The central organs are not responsible for the incorrect mechanism of paying loyalty bonuses. Those responsible for politically and economically erroneous interpretation must be sought locally. It appears that the leaders of the enterprises did not manage well the financial means available. The government does not accept the consequences of this. It would have been more correct if this problem had been shared with the workers in time.

Loyalty bonuses are not given; they are an entitlement. Naturally, the matter has also taught the administration some lessons. I consider the formulation of the grievances of the Pecs miners as extremely civilized and politically mature. But the way in which they lent added emphasis—that is, by not starting work—is something with which I wish to argue.

Justified messages can be sent to this party and government even if they are prepared during work. I doubt that in such fateful moments of our history justified demands arising from work should be emphasized by the absence of work. The leadership is capable of creating the political conditions of a democratic and creative climate, but it is unable to bear the responsibility for localized functional problems of workplace democracy. The country's party and state leaders are not able to think or act in the places of 10 million citizens or 800,000 party members. [end recording]

[Bankuti] After Karoly Grosz, a festive greeting was delivered by Sandor Nagy, general secretary of SZOT [National Council of Trade Unions]. We now recall a few themes from his speech:

[Begin Nagy recording] Comrade Karoly Grosz mentioned in his speech that in his experience these days, success was not in abundance. I would like to reassure him that he is not alone. It cannot be said of the officials of the trade union movement that success follows success in their work these days. Now that the trade unions have designated as their goal the realization of resolute, tough, yet responsible, interest-safeguarding and interest-representing activities, and the creation of the conditions of political institutions necessary for this and their promotion—and they received encouragement for this from the may party conference as well—our possibilities are considerably less without a doubt, even in objective terms in comparison to previous years. Neither has the number decreased of those who, for the most diverse considerations, would like to restrict the trade unions' room for maneuvre.

Yet never has the demand from the membership for radical changes, and especially for a successful stand which has tangible consequences, been as strong as now. The majority of people are preoccupied with rather prosaic, among them some rather serious, problems. They are demanding very concrete changes, and to a lesser extent the constant reaffirmation of the intention to reform, to renew.

To avoid any misunderstanding, it is not so much the statements regarding the necessity of reform which I consider excessive for my part; rather, I consider occasionally the sense of reality, and hence concrete changes, to be insufficient. I am not thinking of spectacular improvement, from one day to the next, of the economic situation or living standards, for this would be a completely unrealistic thought. In this respect, there is continued need for the shouldering of difficulties and patience in no small measure. But in the functioning of society's everyday mechanisms, in the recognition of knowledge, productivity, honest work, in the assertion of the principle of responsibility there is indeed a need for strong and quick changes. This cannot of course be the exclusive problem or task of the central organs, the national leadership. This can only be done, and is only worth doing, in collaboration with society as a whole, together and at the same time.

This is why it is especially significant that we should create as soon as possible a situation in which responsible action and initiative by the citizen, society's self-organization, workplace democracy, become an important guarantee, and at the same time vehicle, of renewal. It cannot then happen that the word of working collectives does not reach the authorities and that they are then compelled to resort to the ultimate means in the economic struggle. What the trade unions want is that the absence of democracy should not have to be rectified by the absence of work. [end recording]

[Bankuti] After these greetings by SZOT General Secretary Sandor Nagy, awards were presented. Following Laszlo Kovacs's closing words the central celebrations of the 38th Miners Day ended with the miners anthem.

Grosz on Labor Unrest

LD0109215488 Budapest MTI in English 2018 GMT 1 Sep 88

[Text] Budapest, September 1 (MTI)—On the occasion of the 38th Miners' Day, a central celebration was held in Budapest on Thursday in honour of coal, oil, gas, mineral, ore and bauxite miners. On the memorial table of martyr miners wreaths were laid on behalf of the HSWP CC by General Secretary Karoly Grosz, on behalf of the trade unions by Sandor Nagy, general secretary of the Central Council of Trade Unions (SZOT), members of the HSWP Central Committee, on behalf of the government by Frigyes Berecz, minister of industry, Laszlo Kapolyi, government commissioner, and Gyula Czipper, deputy minister of industry, and on behalf of the Mineworkers' Union by President Istvan Havran and Deputy Presidents Andras Komar and Jozsef Varga.

The central celebration held at the Congress Hall of the Rozsa Ferenc Cultural Centre of Construction Workers was attended by Karoly Grosz, Janos Lukacs, CC secretary, members of the Political Committee, Sandor Nagy, Frigyes Bereca, Janos Hoos, president of the National Planning Office, and Miklos Villanyi, minister of finance.

The celebration was opened by General Secretary Laszlo Kovacs of the Mineworkers' Union. Greeting the miners of the country, he emphasized that the 38th Miners' Day coincides with the 75th anniversary of the first issuance of the "Banyamunkas" paper. Laszlo Kovacs spoke with respect about the great miners" strikes between the two world wars.

He went on to stress that following liberation, miners played a tremendous role in the nation building work, however, the incorrect energy policy in the second half of the 1960s, and the cut-backs decided at the time caused financial and moral losses to coal mining which still have effects today. Correction of the energy policy was delayed for more than one decade, in spite of several oil price explosions. Thus coal mining in the first half of the 1980s was able to meet demands only with exceptional efforts. The trade union notified the government of the problems of the miners and in recent years several major decisions have been passed. The most recent decision was passed this may by the plan economy committee. As a rational compromise, this decision can be considered as a conception that designated the prospective opportunities for the operation of coal mining. In several issues, however, as indicated by the tensions experienced in the past period, further coordination is necessary. The workers of the mining industry understand that consistent implementation of the economic and social reforms is a universal national interest which coincides with the long-term interests of the miners. Therefore they accept and support the consistent implementation of the economic renewal.

Karoly Grosz then delivered his speech.

In the introductory part of his speech, Karoly Grosz welconmed the Hungarian mining workers, including the Polish miners who work in the Hungarian shafts, and the Romanian citizens who, following their resettlement, earn their living as miners in Hungary.

In the following Karoly Grosz discussed the state of implementing the stabilization government programme approved a year ago. The Hungarian economy has arrived at a dangerous situation in the past decade, he said. Alongside the ossified economic structure, the acceptance of only the most necessary short-term decision, the conceptional errors of leaders, the country suffered huge losses from the lack of general discipline which, unfortunately, can still be experienced today. He recalled that in this situation, the stabilization programme of the government has set the aim to maintain international solvency and internal financial balance, and to gradually establish the conditions of advance.

In the past period, the more strict governmental conduct, the constraints dictated by our economic environment, and the means and methods ordered to the main economic goals did not bring about a turn in several areas, but already indicate modest results.

A criticism frequently voiced today is that the government does not observe its promise, mainly with respect to the envisaged pace in the growth of consumer prices, Karoly Grosz said, then noted: The promises were linked to conditions. The most important conditions to fulfil them, namely to increase the efficiency of production, lags behind the desired. Thus the government faced the dilemma: It either firmly adheres to keeping its previous promises, or differs from them in the interest of the future. We decided on the latter one, openly accepting the unfavourable political consequences, but not endangering the country's economic and social balance, he stressed.

The government initiates genuine changes alike in the economic, social and political system of conditions of the economy, to accelerate restructuring. Economic relations will accordingly become more clear-cut and regulation more uniform. The flow of capital and manpower will be freer and it will be easier to acquire imports. The legal foundations will be set down by the new law on business associations, the uniform corporate tax law, the new wages regulation, or the regulations that promote the influx of foreign capital. In other words, the reform process will become more intensive, a social and economic democracy of new quality is taking shape. Time is, however, needed for this, and we are short of time.

In the interest of progress, our society has to endure the elimination of the outdated, inefficient structures. The government—accepting the emergence of major tensions, and learning how to handle and settle them—has to be strong and consistent in the interest of the majority.

The large-scale reduction of subsidies, which still exist in an extensive sphere, cannot be delayed any longer, not even if it violates group and individual interests. This process has to take place before the public. The Council of Ministers has resolved to firmly, but with rational gradualness, progress along this road. We shall work out a three-year programme kto cut back subsidies, and shall continuously submit it to the National Asembly. It is our intention to reduce budgetary subsidies by 30,000-40,000 million forints already in 1989.

We should abandon the illusion that the rate of inflation depends on a government decision. If inflation is let loose, the balance of ecnomy is upset, and uncontrollable processes begin. But it must also be seen that inflation is a symptomatic phenomena, disorders in the structural, efficiency, and financial balance relations of economy lie behind it. The radical turn has to be realized alongside the lowest possible rate of inflation which does not restrict the balance of the markets. It can already be seen that the growth in the price level next year will be of a similar degree to this year, said Karoly Grosz. He then noted that a not insignificant part of the economic leaders and production managers are not able to fulfil their tasks, making the government responsible for their problems.

Karoly Grosz then discussed how the situation of the population will be affected by the changes next year. If the 1989 economic plans are fulfilled, it can be hoped that real consumption will not decrease in 1989, however, the decrease in real wages—at a significantly smaller degree than this year—cannot be avoided. At the same time, the new economic conditions make it possible for the real wages to increase for those who offer genuine performances.

The considerable changing of the wage mechanism for next year is a well-founded goal, which does not, however, mean the realization of wage reform. Companies will be able to practically freely decide the wages of their workers, and can develop a far more incentive wage system than today. It must also be reckoned with that the economic environment will force the employers to dismiss workers who perform on a low level.

In the following Karoly Grosz recalled the letter that the miners of Pecs addressed to him on their work stoppage on August 23. In the letter they pressed for the unanimous clarification of the future of mining, the elimination of uncertainties, and asked for high incomes for miners, and that the tax system take into consideration the traditional earning elements of mining.

Karoly Grosz assured the miners that the leadership greatly appreciates them and society does not envy them their higher than average payments. At the same time he acknowledged that the miners are justified in protesting against the tone, false objectivity and unprofessional nature of reports and commentaries published, or carried in certain press organs. He added that this criticism does not refer to the entire mass media, but it is impermissible for anyone, even if incidentally they are poorly paid journalists, to pass sentence on the miners, or the future of the mines while possessing scanty knowledge.

Incidentally, Karoly Grosz continued, I feel that several of the staff-members of the national press view our struggles, and not only in mining, but in other vitally important national affairs, as elegant observers from the outside, and instead of seeking solutions, they place emphasis on the dramatic, particular and sensational, frequently forcing their preconceptions on those interviewed. I am certain that the press cannot assist the nation in solving its pressing problems with such attitudes and conduct.

In connection with the demand of the miners to unanimously settle their livelihood, he said that the government is concerned about the future of the miners and mining. To drastically cut back mining is not in our interest, nor is it justified to lower the 50 per cent proportion of domestic production in our energy consumption. To say nothing of the sacrifices that would be required to ensure subsequent hard currency to acquire the huge amounts of imported coal, he said. But we cannot abandon justified imports. In the future, the rational proportion of domestic production and import has to be determined in Hungarian raw material and energy policy as parts that reciprocally complement each other.

Karoly Grosz stressed that the decisions cannot be rushed and have to be well-founded. This does not mean that decisions are postponed. I am confident that mining has a future, and is not a crisis branch that has to be condemned to waste, he emphasized.

The errors of the mine closures in the 1960s should be avoided, he said. Eliminating the current uneconomic production should be carried out in a way that ensures the possibility of restarting in the future, if it is so required.

The third complaint of the Pecs miners was that the gap between their wages and the national average has narrowed. This is not the consequence of a central decision, but the result of the many years of patching up by economic management, which slowly raised the average, causing everyone to be underpaid. This practice can no longer be continued. Demanding higher than average wages is not justified in any trade. However, everyone has a just claim to payment according to the value of work, based strictly on performance. The differences in wages according to trades should not be a favour, an issue of subjective decision, but should rather be the consequence of economic regularities.

With respect to the fidelity bonus which caused the conflict in the Istvan shaft, the central organs are not responsible for the incorrect payments. Those responsible for the interpretation which was erroneous both politically and economically, should be sought locally.

Naturally, the affair also provided lessons for the government. We shall analyze the problems that can be generalized and which are of a national nature, and shall strive to find solutions to them, said Karoly Grosz.

In the following Karoly Grosz spoke about method. He termed the formulation of grievances by the Pecs miners to be cultured and politically mature, but debated the means with which they gave emphasis to them—not beginning work. Just messages can be forwarded to this party and government even if those are put together during work, adding, "I doubt that just demands arising from work should receive emphasis by the lack of work in such vital moments of our history. I would like to emphasize this also because there are those who think they can acquire unjust advantages with such methods. I do not believe that threats will lead to results."

"The renewing party and state leadership has a conception, it clearly defined the tasks facing society and the party membership. It has the strength to organize implementation of its goals. The leadership is capable of establishing the political conditions of a democratic and creative atmosphere. It can do so even if pressure towards the leadership has intensified from ill-willed intentions, if some encourage anarchy under the slogan of reform, or if they, from a mere quest for cheap popularity, spur on demagogy. It is, however, not capable of bearing responsibility for local disorders in the function of plant democracy. The party and state leaders of the country are not capable of thinking and acting instead of the 10 million citizens or the 800,000 party members.

"With respect to the economic practice of the past period, it is our intention to draw up the balance. But not with the intention of seeking a scapegoat at all costs, but for society and the leadership to more realistically see the situation, why the radical turn is necessary and the direction of further progress", said Karoly Grosz in conclusion.

Following the speech of Karoly Grosz, Sandor Nagy, general secretary of the Central Council of Trade Unions (SZOT) welcomed the miners on behalf of the Central Council of Trade Unions and the sectoral trade unions. He also discussed the one-day work stoppage at Istvan shaft. He said the subsequent analyses are useful, but it could have been more useful had the leaders concerned turned their energy to solving the problems to be settled prior to the events. The preliminary signals that came from the trade unions, including the Miners' Trade Union, on the operation of the tax system, its effect on performances and net incomes, should have been more seriously taken into consideration.

He also referred to the fact that several mining companies have become loss-making, as a consequence of the changes in the international and domestic economic conditions, the rise of the specific costs of coal mining in certain areas due to objective and subjective reasons, and several not duly considered earlier decisions. He noted that it is the interest of the country and the miners to draw the necessary conclusions from this. However, these problems cannot mean there are problems with the whole of mining, and that mining should be declared a crisis branch.

It also cannot mean that workers of loss-making areas should fully settle the unavoidable regrouping by themselves. They did not call the economic structure into existence, they did not select the applied technologies, did not create the system of regulation, and should therefore not bear the consequences by themselves. The trade unions do not object to the government and economic leadership intending to reduce or eliminate the obvious losses, but do so if uncertainty surrounds these tasks for a longer time, if the delays in decisions and implementation cause otherwise avoidable damage, or if there are no exact conceptions to solve the employement problems. It is unacceptable that the burdens of restructuring be born solely by the workers, and for them to hear, day by day, that their work is useless.

Powerful and rapid changes are needed in the operation of the everyday mechanisms of society, in the recognition of knowledge, performances and honest work, and in the enforcement of responsibility. This cannot, of course, be the problem only of the national leadership. It is of particular importance to create, as soon as possible, a situation in which responsible initiatives of citizens, the self-organization of society, and workplace democracy are important guarantees and carriers of renewal. Then it cannot occur that the words of workers' collectives do not reach the authorities, and are not forced to resort to the final means of economic struggle, said the general secretary of the Central Council of Trade Unions.

Grosz Warns Against 'Threats'

LD0109225588 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 1 Sep 88

[No video available]

[Text] Karoly Grosz made a speech today at this year's central celebration of miners day. In his introduction, the MSZMP general secretary and premier stressed that mining was a sector with a future but that its problems and tasks must be analyzed not in isolation but in the light of the country's general economic situation.

[Begin Grosz recording] The economic growth rate will reach the planned lower limit. The modest achievements of the first year of the stabilization program are enhanced by the fact that the realization of stricter than ever economic conditions took place simultaneously

with rather substantial changes in the means of economic regulators. The introduction of the new personal income and enterprise tax has taken place. It may be creaking but it works. The significance of this can hardly be overstated in view of the rather tight preparation. The government's structure and work style are changing. By its nature, this carries within itself initial uncertainty, the transitional weakening of the effectiveness of administration.

Nowadays, the criticism is often heard that government is not keeping its promises, primarily as regards the envisaged pace of the growth of consumers' prices. This is a very complex sphere of issues which contains economic, political, and ethical elements. The promises are tied to conditions. The most important condition of their fulfillment, the increase in production efficiency, falls short of what is desired. Thus, government faces the dilemma of either rigidly adhering to keeping its earlier promises, or diverging from them in the interest of the future. We have decided in favor of the latter, openly accepting the unfavorable political consequences of this, but not endangering the country's economic and social balance.

The economic structural change and economic management with a greater degree of freedom, which really mobilizes creative energies, are inconceivable without a large-scale reduction of subsidies which are now very widespread. Therefore, the intention which has been declared for a long time, can not be further postponed, even if it offends group and individual interests. This process must take place in public, because otherwise the part-interests which arise will constantly exert pressure on the leadership, to the detriment of collective interests.

The Council of Ministers has resolved that it will go on this path to the end resolutely, but with sensible gradualness. We have worked out a 3-year program for reducing subsidies, and we shall continuously submit this to the Nationaal Assembly. Our intention is that next year, already, we should reduce budget subsidies by 30-40 billion forints.

To be the festive speaker on the 38th Miners day is, I must confess, not an easy role. Never in my memory since the beginning of my political career has there been so much tension, irritability of several years' standing, dissatisfaction, burdening the Hungarian mining industry. It is not just one sub-branch that is now sinking under the burdens. Hungarian miners are not the nation's dependents, but suffering subjects of a readjusting, heavily indebted, uncertain economy. The person who descends day after day, defying innumerable dangers, cannot be held responsible either for the domestic economic or for the world market environment.

To belittle the efforts and sacrifice of these people is not simply a mistake, it is a crime. The government cares about the future of miners and mining, as we have also declared in parliament, for it is not in any way in our interest to drastically cut mining and to reduce the 50-percent ratio of domestic production in our energy consumption.

I consider the formulation of the grievances of the Pecs miners extremely civilized and politically mature. But the way in which they lent added emphasis—that is, by not starting work—is something with which I wish to argue. Justified messages can be sent to this party and government even if they are prepared during work. The opposite of production is unproductivity. I doubt that in such fateful moments of our history justified demands arising from work should be emphasized by the absence of work.

I would like to stress this because there are some who believe that they can obtain unjustified advantages by these methods. I do not think threats will lead to any results.

The success of our economic, social resurgence also depends to a considerable extent on you, Hungarian miners. The interests of the people's economy and mining coincide. And the interest, to use the words of poet Attila Jozsef is to manage like a good proprietor. [end recording]

Meeting in Nadudvar Discusses Propaganda

Berecz on Political Action

LD0?09131388 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1000 GMT 1 Sep 88

[Text] Our correspondent Andras Kerekes and Attila Balint report on the consultations being held in Nadudvar on the dissemination of propaganda and information.

[Kerekes] Procrastination in political processes cannot be done without punishment, while at the same time one must not be hasty. Therefore, to carefully study our affairs, and to act resolutely, is most important. I quote from the opening speech of Jeno Andics, director of the Agitation and Propaganda Department of the party Central Committee. Today's consultations convened in this spirit. They are already a tradition at the start of the academic term, but this time they are intentionally more than simply the continuation of a tradition.

In the changed political situation there is a need to talk more consistently in front of the public about both the political and economic political transformation. The situation does not make it possible for us to ask for time to solve our accumulated problems. At the same time, we must not delay our tasks. We can no longer say that we do not know what we must solve, while at the same time the mode of solution cannot be anything else but thinking together. However, this time it must be taken seriously. It is thus important for all those who want to get involved to know that they must make use of offered

possibilities, while those who want to create the conditions for this should know that they must offer possibilities—they all move within the one possible framework of political action. This was emphasized by Jeno Andics in his opening speech. Janos Berecz also spoke. Attila Balint sums up his principal thoughts.

[Balint] In order to find our way in the present situation, we first must become familiar with reality, and in the most thorough manner possible. This is how Janos Berecz began his speech. He continued:

[Begin Berecz recording] The situation, regretfully—I could say—has remained unchanged in this past year and a half. However, I cannot say this, because if I do, then it has worsened, despite transitional improvements. Implementation of a program which is inducive of hope, wishes, endeavor, intention, and action requires many conditions. I would like to review three of these. One: This program conveys today's reality and necessity. I would say: Yes. A fundamental condition of every resurgence [kibontakozas] is that we should see the situation realistically, and that we should have a recipe for the solution. We are in the unique situation whereby there are too many recipes, and therefore they do not serve even as terms of reference. We almost forget the party's resurgence program, the government's stabilization program, and the resolutions of the national party conference. If somebody or some kind of force alludes to these he does it in an embarrassed manner. Not because he cannot identify himself with its content, or that he cannot agree with it, but because we are paralyzed by a peculiar inertia. In this country everyone is soveriegn, and no one acts appropriately so that these programs should prevail.

A government decision can be prevented by a department head, and without consequence. There is—to the harm of society, and not to the benefit of the group [ertekelesere]. [sentence as heard] The democratization process has unfolded to such a degree—which we approve, which we demand—but with this the effectiveness and force of the central power have broken down [leepuel]. The democratization process is not accompanied by the prevailance of the normal and healthy intentions of this power. The end of this process is decomposition [szethullas].

[Balint] Janos Berecz touched upon some timely political issues, which are topics of conversation in our daily life. Here, for example, the issue of strikes.

[Begin Berecz recording] We are carrying out our activities in such excited political atmosphere, when everything can turn into its own opposite, even frank, open words. But without it one cannot exist, one cannot carry out politics. Let us take a concrete example. A strike was called. It started as a work stoppage; subjective, personal endeavors elevated it into a national factor; a national agreement resulted. However, from that moment, a strike can always, anywhere, and anytime, take place, because demand is permissible, because turning to confrontation is permissible, because extorting concessions is permissible. To what point is it possible to extort concessions? Until the administration, which has not the material basis to make concessions, resigns. Until that point.

Once, in the past, on the basis of calculations, a concept was formulated whereby the Istvan pit had to be closed down. It is precisely there that an illegal—wages have already been paid—demand is possible to repeat, and to be fulfilled. By the same token, even the existence of the Istvan pit may be prolonged. However, is it possible to prolong the survival of a country, with many Istvan pits? Even taking a stand on the side of a director is accompanied by a work stoppage—okay, they are decent, in all cases, because they work to make up for lost production; they really do work hard to make up for it. However, our country cannot build like this. It is not the government and their people which confront each other, but we don't understand, we do not know—the public mood is that there is a need to demand, to stand up for it, that a struggle must be launched to obtain it with any means available. [sentence as heard] [end recording]

Berecz Interviewed on Exercise of Power

LD0109214788 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 1 Sep 88

[Text] A political forum began today at Nadudvar. National and local leaders as well as public personalities are debating the problem of the system of political institutions. During the first break of the conference, Endre Aczel interviewed Janos Berecz, Politburo member and secretary of the Central Committee:

[Begin recording] [Aczel] You said in your lecture that the exercise of power today is not the same as it was yesterday. You created quite a sensation the other day when, on your return from the USSR, you made a statement distancing yourself from the suggestion of the Soviet party conference that in counties, at lower levels, the functions of party leaders and council leaders could be combined. Could you say something about this?

[Berecz] My opinion is, and this is confirmed by practical experiences, that the MSZMP as a party, and as the various institutions of the party, cannot participate directly in the exercise of power. It is a different thing if a party member is elected to some function, and he exercises that power or those responsibilities. The party's duty is to exert a political and ideological influence on the whole of society and on its various institutions. It should have enough strength to ensure that this effect is exerted.

Now let us say that a county council chairman, for instance, or a town council chairman, as well as every elector is at the same time electable. If we were to say that they should try to elect the county party first secretary, or if he is not elected then we shall dismiss the

county party first secretary, this would mean that only party members could be elected. But in our country nonparty members can also be elected to every state of social function. So this is why I think that any kind of preferential rule for such functions must not be stated.

[Aczel] But do you agree that the recognition which was behind the Gorbachev proposal—namely, that one boss is needed—can be supported?

[Berecz] I do not agree with it, because we live in an age when decisions must be made, if possible, collectively, with the individual responsibility of those participating in the decisions. If a county has only one boss, then I think it can slip. I say that several types of supervision are needed in every function.

[Aczel] But perhaps you will agree that power structures operating side by side—for example, party and council structures—must be thinned out or reduced, so that only one should operate, or the two should work in a different way side by side?

[Berecz] No I would formulate it more precisely by saying that a party apparat does not have the same tasks as a council apparat. The task of the party apparat everywhere in the country will be to ensure that the elected bodies or the basic organizations should work well, and to serve them and not to exercise supervision over the state apparat; that is, that it should not have any parallel functions. The Central Committee should work well, the county party committee should work well. The basic organization, the apparat, should provide every help for this. This is how it should be built up; that is, not in accordance with the state apparat, and this is the requirement that should be set for all its members.

[Aczel] But until now, and even at this moment, the first secretary is the boss in a county, is he not? This is how it will be in the future as well. Although this is not enshrined in the Constitution, it has been legitimized by practice.

[Berecz] The Constitution declares that the MSZMP is this country's leading political force. This is probably at the root of the protocol that everywhere the party secretary is placed on top. I think this is an order of protocol, and I can conceive a situation when the prominent individuals present will be listed in alphabetical order.

[Aczel] Let us stay in the provinces for a while. In Budapest one could hear a week or two after the party conference that restructuring had stopped at the county boundaries. There is some kind of fear for two reasons of party conferences being convened in the counties.

One reason is that the party conference, which was held in Budapest, issued the slogan "All power to the grassroots organizations." So what will become of the county committees? Second, one can also talk of a fear of losing positions. There is pressure from below to convene party conferences. What does the center in Budapest think about this? Is there a corporate opinion, and do you have a personal opinion?

[Berecz] We would like to take ourselves seriously, and this means that the various party bodies and party organizations must have the appropriate autonomy. The national party conference's prescription that there must be a renewal in policies as well as in personnel if necessary, is compulsory. How it is implemented falls within the competence and rights of every county party body or Budapest party body. Today they are uncertain, confused. They are expecting advice from us. Our advice is that by consulting with the region's party membership, by exchanging opinions with them, they should decide the best possible way. There are places where a party conference is needed, and I can conceive that there are places where there is no need for one. This renewal can also be realized in other ways. So they should decide independently, with responsibility. They are responsible not only to the Central Committee but also to their own membership. This is my opinion.

[Aczel] So in this sense has the Central Committee completely transferred the right to make a decision to the county party committees?

[Berecz] Completely. Where they decided not to hold a party conference we acknowledged it, and where a party conference is held the Central Committee's representative will turn up.

[Aczel] So, the Central Committee is not pressuring the county committees to hold a conference?

[Berecz] It is not exerting any presure, but one or two articles in NEPSZABADSAG can be construed as pressure to some degree.

[Aczel] But this is the party press which is not alien to the party leadership.

[Berecz] It is not alien, but it has some independence. If only it had even more!

Berecz, Szabo Present Papers on New Tasks

LD0109232388 Budapest MTI in English 2036 GMT 1 Sep 88

[Text] Budapest, September 1 (MTI)—The Next Tasks of Propaganda and Information is the title of a national conference that opened on Thursday in Nadudvar, in the organization of the Agitation and Propaganda Department of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party.

The first paper was delivered by Janos Berecz, member of the HSWP Political Committee and secretary of the Central Committee, on the reform of the system of political institutions, and the ideological, political and organizational issues of the renewal of the party.

He stressed the invariable timeliness of the July, 1987 resolution of the Central Committee, the stabilization programme of the government, and the resolution of the party conference. He pointed out that inconsistencies, helplessness, and irresponsible conduct can quite often be experienced in their implementation. Yet the consistent implementation of these resolutions is the guarantee of further development. He called attention to the fact that the improving public mood following the party conference has deteriorated in the past period, and one of the reasons for it, as well as problems of an economic nature, is the weakness of national consciousness. He stressed the importance of a civic sense of responsibility. He said:

"We are now building with jurisdiction, so that the rights of the citizens be institutionally ensured. At the same time, the civic sense of responsibility has not yet attained the necessary level. The party—and within this party propaganda—can and should do much in the interest that this civic senses of responsibility be established and intensified. The efficiency of work, support for the process of material production should stand in the focus of civic responsibility".

In the following he noted "Doubt can be experienced towards our ideology. There are those who say our ideology has lost its magic, and this is nurtured by the fact that previously we tried to justify certain bad practices with ideology. At the same time we also experience that interest expected from ideology to point forward is also increasing." In this context the secretary of the Central Committee held it necessary for extensive, analyzing and evaluating work to begin in the interest that we develop the image of Hungary at the turn of the century in an ideologically well-founded way supported by practice. For this, exposure of the yesterdays is not sufficient but a furthering collective theoretical work is necessary.

He recalled that previously enthusiasm was occasionally accompanied by ideological blindness. Now we have to be very firmly realistic in a way that "we do not at the same time deprive ourselves of emotion."

Discussing the current timely issues of socialist building he pointed out the new occurances of enforcing the will of the people, the growing number of social initiatives that have to be received with appropriate patience and good will, as a new social consensus can be reached only on the soil of these social initiatives.

With respect to property relations he stated that it would be an error to consider ventures and initiatives as capitalist manifestations, as those have to be fulfilled precisely in socialism. Among other things, this will be served by the law on business associations, which aims at creating better conditions and varied forms for the development of production forces. The diversity of property relations exists in a transitory society. The decisive factor is the effective operation of social property, but it is necessary to also involve domestic private capital and foreign working capital. The standard for the application of the latter is to what degree it is utilized for the benefit of the public. Our starting point is always the all-national interest, and the enforcement of the interests of the entire society.

Janos Berecz discussed the issues of pluralism in detail. He noted: The essence of political pluralism is the enforcement of the many kinds of interest apparent in society in the system of political institutions, and to bring them into harmony with the public interest.

Political pluralism has to be established with the leadership of the Marxist-Leninist party, in the framework of developing the system of institutions. The party should ensure and enforce its leading role with political and ideological means, rather than means of power.

Janos Berecz dealt with timely issues of the activity of the party. He stressed that a key issue of social development is the implementation of the programme provided by the position of the national party conference, and its key words: turn-reform-renewal. He termed basic organization the most important with respect to shaping the party's policy, as the leading role of the party is enforced through it. The party continues to consider the production units as its important basis, but it sees that the territorial party organizations should play an increasing role. It holds it necessary to reconsider the work of the party apparatus in the interest that the authority of the elected bodies and their members increase, and have a party apparatus of appropriate number and standard that well serves the leading bodies, and the entire party membership.

In conclusion he discussed the necessity of intensifying party unity. The fact that the Political Committee takes a unified position in the major issues promotes this, said Janos Berecz.

In the following, Jeno Andics, head of the Agitation and Propaganda Department of the HSWP Central Committee, delivered a paper entitled 'Political Publicity, Party Publicity, Party Education'. He discussed the necessity of creating an information and press law valid for a longer period, as notions of freedom of speech and freedom of the press cannot be clarified in the political debate without it. These are key elements also in the reform of the Constitution, therefore the new press law can only be framed in connection with such reform.

Jeno Andics also spoke about the relations between the party and the press. He said the party wishes to direct its own press, and this means direct political management.

It should be achieved that the party press be the first to deal with many important political issues. More extensive publicity can be one means for the party to continue its activity alongside the control of society.

In conclusion he formulated as the fundamental element of publicity that the staff of the press be initiated into the problems, that they be supplied with the information required for authentic reporting and information, said Jeno Andics.

As introduction, Istvan Szabo, member of the Political Committee of the HSWP, reviewed the main characteristics of the period following the socialist reorganization of agriculture. He stressed that the rapid development of the branch was made possible by the setting up of incentive relations. The realignment that came about in agriculture, and technical development.

With respect to the present, he was of the opinion that agricultural policy can and should be reformed without it being necessary for the party to revise the former process of the socialist reorganization of agriculture. He said that the conditions for smaller ventures should be established in the framework of an agricultural policy that relies on large-scale farming. Examining the possibilities of individual farming in place of the loss-making cooperatives farming on poor-quality areas can also be conceived.

He stressed that national economy needs the export of a certain proportion of agricultural products.

The speaker termed the mood of agricultural workers as favourable, and stressed that production inclination has not declined.

The conference is to continue on Friday.

Urban Reports Militiaman's Death at Steel Plant

LD0109144988 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1400 GMT 1 Sep 88

[Text] Talks between strike organizers and the Stalowa Wola steelworks management ended this afternoon. The strikers were discussing whether or not to end the strike. Jerzy Urban has stated that if this strike does not end quickly the authorities will terminate it—regardless of the strikers' compliance to appeals.

Minister Jerzy Urban said that yesterday evening an officer of the Citizens' Militia died at his post during his service inside the striking Stalowa Wola steel plant. It is not known whether he was murdered, or whether he committed suicide under the influence of psychological and physical terror, and persecution. I am awaiting the results of the investigation, Jerzy Urban said, but I wish to express my indignation, and my deep sympathy for his family.

Militia Officer Shot in Head

LD0209163188 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1200 GMT 2 Sep 88

[Text] Rzeszow News returns to the final tension-filled hours of the strike in the Stalowa Wola steelworks in an article by Zbigniew Flasza. Our correspondent Tadeusz Seroka is speaking:

[Seroka] Yesterday the public was informed of the death of a ranking Militia officer who was carrying out his duty in the combine. Investigations into the case are going on but the report contained in the article shows in what kind of atmosphere the tragedy occured. Senior Warrant Officer Jerzy [name indistinct] is talking.

[Unidentified officer] On Wednesday 31 August, Captain Andrzej S. and I were in the vicinity of the die forge. At about 1815 in the region which we were patrolling a group of 34 young people unexpectedly came in on battery-powered trucks with arms bands and demanded our warrant cards. We stated that we had ours but different. They noticed a radio telephone in a bag and the situation became clear for everyone. We were instructed to get on the truck and we were taken to a place near the tool room. Here one of the strike leaders, Wieslaw Wojtas, came out to us, on whose demand we showed our warrant cards. The crowd around us behaved aggressively. It was difficult for us to control ourselves but we remained calm. Wieslaw Wojtas gave instructions for us to be led out to the other side of the gate.

[Seroka] That evening, the author goes on, five officers on duty at the steelworks were forcibly removed in three actions by motorized fighting squads to the other side of the gate. Dusk fell; it was dark when, at about 2050, the next convoy of strikers approached Gate No 3. A shot was heard above the yellings, whistles, applause, and songs. People gathered on either side of the gate instantly scattered. In a moment calls for a doctor were heard. The seriously injured officer, a 38-year-old lieutenant of the Civic Militia [MO], Mieczyslaw Turbakiewicz, was taken to hospital with a serious gunshot wound to his head. Yesterday, in the early hours of the morning, he died without regaining consciousness.

From the initial findings of the investigation which is being carried out, it follows that the fatal gunshot wound to the head was made from a P64 pistol which was carried by Lt. Mieczyslaw Turbakiewicz.

After coming to the steelworks, Colonel Tadeusz Kazan, deputy chief of the Voivodship Office for Internal Affairs in Tarnobrzeg, relates: I summoned the chairman of the Strike Committee for an interview. Stanislaw Krupka, the former chairman of the former independent self-governing trade union Solidarity of the Sandomierz region, reported. I showed him the blood stains, the pieces of brain tissue, and the pistol lying on the road. His reaction was limited to the words: I was opposed to this. They went too far.

Lieutenant Mieczyslaw Turbakiewicz was married with a 10-year-old son, Rafal, who yesterday on 1 September was supposed to have gone to school. It is very difficult to comment on this unusually tragic event, the author continues. Regardless of the results of the investigation being held, today certain matters are already clear and obvious. The Stalowa Wola steelworks is an enterprise of the defense industry producing arms. MO and security service functionaries were and are in it with the consent of the director of the Stalowa Wola steelworks, in order to ensure his services to the Industrial Security Guard and civil defense.

Finally, their behaviour was and is in accord with the law, and in addition they did not undertake any interventions in relation to the strikers. In this situation not only the legal but also, and even above all, the moral responsibility of the strike's organizers and its spiritual guardians is clearly evident.

More on Walesa Call For End to Strikes

LD0109162988 Warsaw PAP in English 1342 GMT 1 Sep 88

[Text] Gdansk, Sep. 1—Following yesterday's talks on the idea of a "round table" meeting conducted by Gen. Czeslaw Kiszczak and several public personalities, including Lech Walesa, the first harbingers of an expeditious ending of strikes surfaced in the strike-bound workyards.

In the Lenin shipyard in Gdansk, as well as the repair yard and the Northern shipyard, the possibility of calling of strikes off were discussed in the morning.

At the meeting of striking employees at the Lenin shipyard in Gdansk, Walesa briefed the gathered on his talks with General Kiszczak and called for an end of the strike till 2 p.m.

Urban Says Walesa Appeal 'Better Late Than Never'

LD0109143988 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1400 GMT 1 Sep 88

[Text] The American press agency [as heard] asked the government press spokesman for his views on the appeal of Lech Walesa to break off the strikes. Minister Jerzy Urban replied: We value every sensible and positive step. The call to break off the strikes is precisely such a step. It is appropriate to value this, especially when it comes from a participant in the strike. The strikes are already dying out. The number of striking enterprises has significantly reduced, as has the number of participants in particular strikes, even though the groups of strikers are strengthened from outside. However, even when the strike situation is dying out, such a late appeal by Lech Walesa has a moral value. Better late than never, Jerzy Urban said.

Developments in Stalowa Wola Steelworks

Workers End Strike 1 Sep

LD0109175988 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 1 Sep 88

[Text] Negotiations between a group of three people representing the leadership of the strike and the management of the Stalowa Wola steelworks ended today at 1210. During the talks the participants came to an agreement on the unconditional ending of the strike and worked out, with the help of the voivodship office of internal affairs in Tarnobrzeg, the question of a safe return home.

At 1630 a representative of the group which was leading the strike informed the management of the steelworks that the occupied buildings would be made ready for handing over and that after they had been accepted by the technical supervision squad of the department the strikers would leave the works at about 1900.

At the time of sending this report—that is, at 1820—the first groups of strikers are preparing to leave the Stalowa Wola steelworks.

Safety of Strikers Reportedly Guaranteed

LD0109172188 Hamburg DPA in German 1641 GMT 1 Sep 88

[Excerpts] Warsaw (DPA)—After the shipyard workers the Gdansk port workers ended their strike today. [passage omitted]

At Stalowa Wola the Episcopate intervened in a telex signed by Jerzy Dabrowski, the current secretary of the Biships' Conference, for the safety of participants in the strike. According to informed sources, Bishop Dabrowski is said to have received safety guarantees from high state officials. [passage omitted]

Walesa To Meet With Strikers in Upper Silesia

AU0209102788 Paris AFP in English 1009 GMT 2 Sep 88

[Text] WARSAW, Sept 2 (AFP)—Lech Walesa left Gdansk overnight Thursday for Upper Silesia where strikers have refused to resume work until the Solidarity leader briefs them in person on his recent talks with Polish authorities, informed sources said here.

Workers at the Manifest Lipcowy [July Manifesto] colliery in Jastrzebie said they wanted Mr. Walesa to meet with them to explain negotations held on Wednesday with Polish Interior minister General Czeslaw Kiszczak, after which the Solidarity leader appealed for strikers to return to work.

Mr. Walesa said on Wednesday that during the talks—the first between Mr. Walesa and the Polish Government since Solidarity was outlawed in 1981—Gen. Kiszczak had promised that the question of free choice of trade unions would be on the agenda of the next "roundtable" talks between the government and opposition leaders.

The promise appeared to be a major concession to striking workers one of whose chief demands has been legal recognition of Solidarity.

Meanwhile, Polish Prime Minister Zbigniew Messner admitted that his government had made "mistakes" in directing economic reforms in the country and offered to resign.

On Thursday, thousands of stiking dock workers in the northern port of Gdansk marched jubilantly out of the Lenin shipyards, which they had been occupying.

The workers, many of whom wore Solidarity emblems and badges declaring "We Shall Overcome," sang pro-Solidarity and religious hymns and flashed the "V" for victory sign, witnesses at the shipyard said.

Strikers in the Stalowa Wola steelworks in southeastern Poland also agreed on Thursday to resume work.

But in the Manifest Lipcowy colliery, which employs about 1,000 workers, according to anti-government sources, strikers remained cautious.

It was in the Manifest Lipcowy pits that, on August 15, workers downed tools, setting off a wave of strikes throughout Poland which paralysed large sections of the country's coal, steel and ship-building industries.

In the northern Baltic port of Szczecin, dock workers and public transport employees also remained on strike. Negotiations between management and strike committees resumed early Friday, sources said.

Events at 'July Manifesto' Mines Reported

Miners Ask For Right-To-Work Guarantee

LD0209011988 Warsaw PAP in English 2337 GMT 1 Sep 88

[Text] Warsaw, Sept. 1—Ombudswoman Anna Letowska received here on Thursday a delegation of a 100-strong group of the Manifest Lipcowy [July Manifesto] colliery miners who submitted to her a request to undertake prompt action to guarantee them their inalienable right to work.

In the wake of the talk with the ombudswoman, miners Janusz Orlowski, Andrzej Skop and Roman Rynas, the latter being secretary of the colliery labour organization, met with newsmen. The discussion was attended by President of the Federation of Miners Trade Unions Rajmund Moric. Here is a journalistic record of some of the statements:

A. Skop: We have written the letter because we did not want to be inactive any longer, we could not endlessly tolerate the deadlock at our pit. We want to resume work while somebody from outside the mining industry keeps dictating what to do to us and our fellow workers.

R. Moric: The trade unions have practically used all the possibilities stemming from the law: Starting from negotiations through strike alert to the half-an-hour work stoppage. For example, we initiated a strike at the Siarkopol. This is true that we have never gone to all lengths for we are aware of the fact that a strike can do much but making irresponsible use of these weapons might cause empty shop shelves. That is why the miners trade unions have not used so far this weapon on a large scale.

R. Rynas: At present, the opposition wants to win its trumps and it could not care less about workers. We are being well aware of this. We fully agree with social postulates of the striking workers. Our roads separate when it comes to demands of a political character. I wonder why nobody tried to ease the situation earlier. Solidarnosc took over our economic postulates and this was the basis for the announcement of the strike.

R. Moric: As a federation, we did not strive for a strike because earlier we had managed to restore the so-called Miners Charter. The strike in the Rudna mine speeded up the making of this decision. The majority of miners did not however know about our success. This was used by our opponent and so the strikes followed. Anyway, not more than 10-15 percent of the workforce, that is the decisive minority of the employees, took part in strikes.

A. Skop: I wonder why we are being asked what will happen when the strike ends and miners go back to work. Why this question is not being addressed to competent persons who could have removed causes of the conflit in the first days of its existence but waited for the strike to spread to other pits.

Talks Under Way

LD0109152588 Warsaw PAP in English 1411 GMT 1 SEP 88

[Text] Katowice, Sept. 1—Talks are under way between the management and striking miners at the "Manifest Lipcowy" [July Manifesto] mine in Jastrzebie on ending the already 18-day occupation of the colliery.

At issue are guarantees of safety for the participants of the strike.

Miners Continue Strike

LD0209095888 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0500 GMT 2 Sep 88

[Excerpt] Katowice—Another day [word indistinct] for the end of the illegal strike in the July Manifesto mine in Jastrzebi. Attempts and talks by the management have not, however, brought any results. Appeals and calls do not convince those strikers, nor did Lech Walesa's telephone call yesterday bring the expected solution. The mine is at a standstill and negotiations are being drawn out. Further demands and conclusions are made; losses and mining dangers grow. Only a few miners are allowed to go down and that is allowed on the basis of very strange and unprecedented mining principles. A group of several dozen go down to service the main drainage pump, ventilators, and to check the mine's walls and gangways. However, it can only enter the mine when the previous shift has gone out of the mine's gates. Previously, mining shift changes always took place underground so as not to cause breaks in the servicing of equipment. The strikers have introduced their own principles, contrary to the mining art, into this area. Experts and people from outside the mine not employed there, continue to make the decisions. For the third week a group of nearly 80 miners from the July Manifesto mine and experts are not allowing a workforce of about 8,000 to take up work. [passage omitted]

Szczecin Transport, Port Strike Situation Updated

WPKM Workers, Management Reach Agreement

LD0109172588 Szczecin Domestic Service in Polish 1500 GMT 1 Sep 88

[Text] A report by Zbigniew Skarol on the development of the situation in the Szczecin Voivodship Municipal Transport Enterprise (WPKM) where parallel talks are going on between the management and the strikers of Dabie depot and representatives of the WPKM Workers Trade Union. Andrzej Anczykowski, managing director of WPKM, and personnel manager Renator Piotrowski are talking:

[Begin recording] [Anczykowski] Talks with trade union representatives of our enterprise as well as representatives of all the departments which are currently working

on the fundamental issues of the enterprise have ended. The results presented to management concerned addenda to the project for a payments agreement in the enterprise. We reached agreement, and about a dozen or so minutes ago such a protocol was signed.

[Reporter] Have the most important issues been included in the protocol?

[Anczykowski] Issues concerning the regulation of all kinds of additional payments, concerning outside of the agreement the payment of an equivalent in coal since April. I would like to point out one thing here: those possibilities which have been created in this sphere resulted from the implementation of an agreement which our federation concluded on 30 April.

[Reporter] The news coming in from the bus depot in Szczecin is less optimistic.

[Piotrowski] The talks in Dabie depot began at 0800. The first round of talks ended at about 1000. At present after an hour of talks we have broken off until 1500 [1300 GMT] It is hard to come to an agreement, because the issues are difficult. Certainly it wasn't easy at Klonowice but there are additional questions of guarantees, the nonapplication of professional sanctions to those striking and those leading the strike.

[Reporter] What is management's attitude?

[Anczykowski] Management holds the opinion that if it is a question of a person who is generally striking [as heard] they should be allowed to return to work as soon as possible. However, if it is a question of those who organized the strike, here we are bound by legal regulations above all and legality in our state. [end recording]

Strike Losses at Port Noted

LD0109093288 Warsaw PAP in English 0828 GMT 1 Sep 88

[Text] Szczecin, Sept. 1—Representatives of the management of the Szczecin-Swinoujscie Port and participants in the strike which had started last Aug. 17 resumed talks in small hours today.

At the start of the strike the work stopped at wharfs where general cargo was reloaded. Next, the protest action spread to mass cargo reloading wharfs.

This has caused serious losses reaching over 1.5 billion zlotys according to estimates and also has been harmful to contacts with foreign customers. Losses have been suffered by inland navigation enterprises, railways and other firms which cooperate with the port.

Talks Continuing at Port

LD0109162588 Szczecin Domestic Service in Polish 1500 GMT 1 Sep 88

[Interview with Ryszard Kundyk, director of programs and development for the Szczecin-Swinoujscie port, by correspondent Jaroslaw Zalewski in Szczecin 1 September—recorded]

[Excerpt] [Announcer] Those striking in the Szczecin Port have still not returned to work. As we have already reported, early this morning talks between the enterprise management and the strikers were undertaken once again. Here is a report from Jaroslaw Zalewski on the situation at the present moment:

[Zalewski] Further talks were begun at 1330 [1130 GMT] and they lasted just 40 minutes.

[Kundyk] Yes, sir, this is true.

[Zalewski] The management of the Szczecin-Swinoujscie port: the director of programs and development—Ryszard Kundyk.

[Kundyk] The state of the talks at the present moment is as follows: Now the management is restricted by the economic possibilities of the enterprise and proposes—as far as pay rises are concerned—what it proposed yesterday; that is, about Z10,000 on average for each worker of the Z20,000 demanded. Another matter causing friction in the talks is the matter of reimbursement for the strike. Management does not, unfortunately, have the power to deal with this postulate in accordance with the strikers' wish. There are, in this matter, unambiguous regulations of the minister of labor and social policy.

[Zalewski] Who does not allow this payment?

[Kundyk] Unfortunately, he does not allow this to be paid, no.

[Zalewski] A fourth point was negotiated.

[Kundyk] This point was, so to speak, outside the enterprise. Such guarantees for the strikers have been passed on to them by the voivodship prosecutor's office. [passage omitted]

'No Change' in Port Situation

LD0209102088 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 0800 GMT 2 Sep 88

[Text] There is no change in the Szczecin port situation. Talks began again at 0900 this morning. Agreement has already been reached on point four of the demands, which deals with the question of penal and administrative responsibility. Decisions on this matter were signed by the voivodship prosecutor in Szczecin. The economic

demand is being discussed at present: an increase in wages and payment for the strike period. However, as it results from the climate of the talks, an agreement should be signed today.

Talks have been broken off again in the voivodship Municipal Transport Enterprise [WPKM] bus depot on Struga Street. The main cause of this, as the strikers have stated, was the failure to assure them safety.

PAP Sep 1 Roundup on Strikes Countrywide

LD0109221088 Warsaw PAP in English 2112 GMT 1 Sep 88

[Text] Warsaw, Sept. 1—The situation continued to be diversified at enterprises on strike on Thursday. In Gdansk, following Lech Walesa's call, the strikes ended at shipyards and at ports two sections: first and fourth. The strikers left later than it had been planned which could have meant that there was no unanimity among strikers as to the end of the sit-in.

PAP was also told that the mid-day brought about the conclusion of the talks between the Stalowa Wola steel mills management and representatives of strikers. Delegates of the strike committee obliged themselves to turn over the departments on strike to technical services and end the strike at 19:00 hrs. This would be a victory of commonsense and awareness of the special character of the enterprise since it belongs to the defence industry. The strike at Stalowa Wola ended at 19:45. All strikers left the mill of their own free will.

The strike continued today at the Szczecin port and the Dabie bus depot. According to information obtained by a PAP report, over 2,000 dockers turned out Thursday morning willing to resume work, and more workers keep coming. There were 13 vessels waiting to be unloaded today and eight ships were in the roads waiting to enter the port, among them those awaiting unloading since the first days of the strike. The port of Swinoujscie, which employs some 1,200 people, is working normally.

PAP has learnt that another round of talks was broken between the Szczecin-Swinoujscie port management and illegal strikers there. At 17:00 hrs, the first secretary of the PUWP voivodship committee and the Szczecin voivode arrived to join the talks.

The negotiations between the management of the municipal transport enterprise in Szczecin and the strikers at the bus depot in Dabie were resumed at 15:00. Earlier the talks of the management and labour organization in the enterprise ended successfully. After a long and difficult discussion the sides reached an agreement on many economic and social issues.

Meanwhile, the management and strikers of the Manifest Lipcowy [July Manifesto] colliery in Jastrzebie continued their talks concerning the end of the 18-day occupation of the mine.

Wave of Strikes Said To Be 'Subsiding'

LD0209094988 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0700 GMT 2 Sep 88

[Text] The wave of strikes is subsiding. In Jastrzebie and Szczecin successive attempts at talks have been made to end the strikes. The need to create a government of national trust, which would have the support of various social forces, resolved to save the country and society, is spoken of increasingly frequently.

Party, State Officials Visit Factories

Discuss Plenum, National Agreement

LD0209011588 Warsaw PAP In English 2310 GMT 1 sep 88

[Text] Warsaw, Sept. 1—Representatives of state and party leadership met today with representatives of worker crews in various parts of the country to discuss developments of the past weeks, the course of discussion and decisons of the 8th PUWP CC Plenum as well as conditions and opportunities for expansion of national agreement.

National Defence Minister Gen. Florian Siwicki paid a visit to the PZl aircraft factory in Kalisz, central Poland, and while referring to the idea of national agreement said that no one to whose heart benefit and development of the homeland was dear should absent himself from talks at the "round-table", though ways of perceiving roads toward the development could be diversified.

With all consistency we shall defend the constitutional order and socialist system of the state, said Gen. Siwicki. The announcement of round-table talks and their potential success can open a new historic chapter for Poland and become, at the same time, a valuable accomplishment of the entire socialist bloc.

Jozef Baryla met with the crew of the Eltra electronics works in Bydgoszcz, north-east of Warsaw.

Jerzy Kubasiewicz took part in a party meeting at the Cerad radio ceramics factory here.

Manfred Gorywoda joined party activists assembled at a meeting at the FSM small-car factory in Tychy, southern Poland.

Boguslaw Kolodziejczak held a discussion with representatives of the crew of the Romet bicycle factory in Bydgoszcz.

Zofia Stepien talked to activists of women organizations of the southern town of Oswiecim.

Wladyslaw Baka met for a discussion with representatives of the crew of the Elana chemical fibres factory in Torun, north of Warsaw.

Marian Orzechowski visited activists of the voivodship PUWP organization in Legnica, south-western Poland, and said that the party held the key to solution of the situation in Poland and that the key was dialogue and agreement with society.

Bydgoszcz Workers Criticize Reform to Baryla

LD0209102988 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1400 GMT 1 Sep 88

[Text] Members of the central party authorities have been visiting Bydgoszcz today. Jozef Baryla, member of the Politburo, met employees of the Eltra plant, and at the moment he is visiting the ZNTK [railway rolling stock repair enterprise] workers' hostel.

Boguslaw Kolodziejczak member of the PZPR Central Committee Secretariat visited the Romet bicycle plant, and is now paying a visit to the Budopol workers' hostel.

(Janusz Zemke), deputy head of the PZPR Central Committee Political and Organizational Department [as heard] met the employees of a cellulose plant in Swiecie.

We accompanied Jozef Baryla:

[Begin recording] [Baryla] Were you interested in the issues raised by the eighth plenum?

[Unidentified voice] Frankly speaking, not very much.

[Baryla] But there was so much said there about our prospects, development, etc.

[Unidentified voice] Perhaps. They said interesting things. I am not sure. I cannot say anything about that, but life shows something different at the moment.

[Baryla] Yes that is why the plenum was held. It was held to correct the shortcomings and show in what direction one should go. If our existence is not good we should improve it, and not wait passively. If we wait, who will do it for us?

[Unidentified voice] We have been making these improvements for so many years now.

[Baryla] We must of course make improvements during all our life. It is never the case that we do something and it will suffice us for the rest of our lives. One must constantly make improvements because the world is changing, and we are changing, too.

[Second unidentified voice] The work is very hard and not everything goes well, general.

[Baryla] Really, what do you mean?

[Second unidentified voice] The reform has had workers' support, our support, but it somehow gets lost on the way. The grassroots do not see it. Prices have gone up.

[Baryla] But wages have gone up, too.

[Second unidentified voice] Yes, but they were calculated only according to the prices subsidized by the state. All the other things are more expensive. Every time we get a supply of materials they are more expensive. We do not see any effects of the reform here, we do not see them at all.

[Baryla] And what would you like to see?

[Second unidentified voice] I do not know, but the reform gets washed away on the way. When one listens to speeches by the central authorities and others, it all looks quite well, but when it comes to the grassroots there is nothing left. Everything gets washed away in the process.

[Baryla] We must make sure that theory is compatible with practice, but this depends on us.

[Second unidentified voice] Yes, it depends on us, but some time ago it was said that the grassroots would be listened to. However, it is not true. Perhaps the decisions reach the management, perhaps even higher, but not us. This is the feeling we have, at least.

[Baryla] We shall have to change these feelings.

[Second unidentified voice] I do not know, but the majority of people I talk to say this, and I strongly believe that it is true.

[Baryla] Thank you for your sincerity. Thank you very much. [end recording]

Wladyslaw Baka, member of the Politburo and secretary of the PZPR Central Committee met the workforce of the Torun Elana today. The Elana plant is among the leading manufacturers of chemical fibers in the country. Wladyslaw Baka was accompanied by Zenon Draminski, first secretary of the PZPR Voivodship Committee in Torun. Poles living conditions, prices and wages, tax matters, and other factors determining the implementation of the economic reform were discussed, [words indistinct].

Baka to Torun Workers on Economy, Reform

LD0109210088 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 1 Sep 88

[Text] Wladyslaw Baka, Politburo member and secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, today met with the work force of the Elana plant in Torun, which is one the country's largest producers of chemical fibers. Problems of living conditions, including prices, wages, tax regulations, and other factors determining the functioning of economic reform, were discussed. The question most often asked was: Will things be better?

[Begin Baka recording] I think that if those projects which have been defined are undertaken with great detemination by the leadership, and introduced, if they are supported in the enterprises, if action at the top and at the bottom is synchronized, then I think that as from next year we will be able to note some progress, albeit gradual.

Please note that it was not always the worst time socially when things were bad economically. The worst time from the social point of view was when there was lack of prospects. So, there is a problem of rebuilding trust in people and in the future.

Can this be done with fine-sounding slogans alone? By good speeches? Of course not. It must be confirmed, confronted, and verified here at the grassroots, among the people. Hence, we do not consider that there can be some name, some team which will bring about an economic miracle in Poland. We are acting in realistic conditions. The overcoming of restrictions which occur demands realistic efforts by all, hence at the eighth plenum the issue of implementation, what has been called implementationary momentum was at the fore. I am convinced that the next few months will become weeks and months of such deeds. [end recording]

Lignite Miners Awarded Pay Increase

LD0109174288 Warsaw PAP in English 1604 GMT 1 Sep 88

[Text] Jelenia Gora, Sept. 1—The results of the work of a government team analysing wages in the mining industry confirmed the fact that the earnings of lignite miners grew at a slower pace that in other mining sectors and in this situation a decision was made changing the calculation of wages for those employed in the lignite mining industry. This signifies a growth of average incomes from 48,837 zlotys (the average during the first six months of this year) to 61,500 zlotys and hence the fulfilment of the main postulate put forward by lignite miners that their wages should be 1.5 times higher than those in the processing industry. The increase will be retroactive from the beginning of the year, it was said today at a meeting with government envoys in the "Turow" lignite mine in Bogatynia.

Earlier, trade unionists from the "Turow" mine jointly with the mine's management had adopted the procedure and forms of the realization of postulates concerning their work enterprise alone.

As far as the postulate to increase the number of people entitled to a coal allowance the miners were informed that another government team was working on a solution. Also the postulate to lower retirement age could not be taken into consideration in such a short time since this matter was settled by law.

The general director of the All-Poland Lignite Mine Association, Czeslaw Szubert told the miners that the decisions taken made possible a 50 percent increase of wages in the association in comparison to last year's earnings. The money for this operation is not extra 'money from Warsaw' but will come from resources worked out by the miners themselves which have not been taxed, as demanded by the lignite miners.

"The answers given by the government representatives satisfy us in 80, maybe 90 percent," said Kazimierz Hajduk, deputy chairman of the Lignite Miners' Unions Federation. "Now we know how to settle the remaining issues. The resources for the increase of our wages have been set in motion and I think that this is the beginning of a new wage system which links work to wages," he added.

On August 31st, just as during the earlier talks with the management, there were no work stoppages in "Turow".

Jaruzelski, Miodowicz Discuss Current Situation

LD0109180788 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 1 Sep 88

[Text] Wojciech Jaruzelski received Alfred Miodowicz, chairman of the National Trade Union Accord Confederation, OPZZ, today. The current situation in Poland was discussed. It was emphasized that in spite of the important problems such as working conditions and social and housing matters, the greater majority of working people are diligently carrying out their professional duties.

In reference to the proposition to call a roundtable, it was emphasized that it was a way and another chance for agreement on national and state matters. Trade union representatives, taking into consideration the stance Alfred Miodowicz presented at the 8th plenum of the party's Central Committee, ought to actively involve themselves in this debate.

Messner's Eighth Plenum Speech Published

AU0109145188 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 29 Aug 88 pp 9,10,11

[Speech by Zbigniew Messner, PZPR Politburo member and chairman of the PPR Council of Ministers, at the Eighth PZPR Central Committee Plenum in Warsaw on 27 August]

[Text] Esteemed Comrades!

I do not want to start discussing the course of the strikes all over again, but what I do want to stress particularly forcefully is their political character. This is not only evidenced by the strikers main demands, but also by the timing and location for the staging of these actions. Economic demands were one of the things that those who instigated and organized the strikes resorted to. What they used was a tool that has been tried and tested

on more than one occasion: The exploitation of a mood among working people that is undoubtedly the product of commodity supply and demand problems and understandable dissatisfaction stemming from the difficulties experienced in everyday life.

Regardless of what personal motives people may have for taking part in the strikes, one thing is certain: The economy has been dealt a serious blow. Production has been disrupted. There is more chaos in the marketplace. The direct losses that have been incurred amount to more than Z10 billion, including $11 million. Poland's prestige has suffered considerably. The reform implementation process has been paralyzed.

Can there be any political reasons that would justify inspiring actions that entail costs of this order? Can an attempt to bargain over issues relating to an anticrisis pact justify harming the foundations of the nation's existence? These questions must be answered by everyone who is conducting a political analysis of what is taking place.

The wave of strikes presents us with a problem: How should we act in this situation? This is particularly pertinent in the face of charges that the authorities are idly watching the strikes spread. What we have to remember is that a strike—whether legal or illegal, whether inspired by our enemies or spontaneous—is a form of protest by workers.

To put it simply, there were three possible solutions: to use force to break the strikes, to satisfy the strikers demands, or to defuse tension by using methods other than those that rely on the use of force.

We did not want to apply direct coercive measures against the strikers, because of the danger that the divisions in society would be deepened. This would hinder the continuation of the process of national reconciliation and create difficulties in our relations with other countries.

We could not and did not want to satisfy the demands that were being made, because they were made in an illegal way. Some of the demands were clearly at variance with our state's policies. The satisfaction of all the economic demands would have entailed the danger of another economic collapse. Doubling wages in the coal mining sector alone would have meant an increase of Z780 billion in central budget subsidies, or raising the price of coal by almost Z5,000 a ton.

Society should not have to pay for an illegal strike. The costs should be borne by those who break the law. So, our position is very similar to the one advocated by Comrade Gorajek.

As for the organizers of strikes, the law clearly sets out the penalties for breaking it. Those who take part in strikes must be made to feel the effects of work, production stoppages in their wage packets. The general economic state of enterprises is also affected, as are the material circumstances of work forces. We believe that we should reject the possibility of covering the losses from the state budget.

Comrades, the political motives behind the current wave of strikes cannot overshadow the economic reasons for the bad feeling in society. The government cannot allow itself to succumb to emotions when it analyzes these reasons. It must do so soberly, impartially, without any delay, and take full account of economic realities in doing so. These realities—whether we like it or not—are unambiguous. Fulfilling wage demands (as was the case in 1980) without adequate cover in the form of increased output and supply may alleviate the situation for a month or two. However, after that, there is nothing that could prevent complete economic ruin.

The key to understanding the mood of society is the money-market situation. It is determined by the relationship between the value of the commodities supplied and the size of incomes, particularly wages. Recently, the relationship has deteriorated to such an extent that the situation has become critical.

To arrive at a better understanding of the sources of these current anomalies, we have to go back to the time when the basic provisions of the second stage of the economic reform were formulated. At the very outset, the important thing was to make the reform more radical: to increase supply and to release initiative and enterprise on the part of all economic units and citizens. However, the attainment of these goals called for basing economic decisionmaking on genuine premises.

Satirists may joke about the average wage in Poland being $20 a month, but they fail to add that, by the same token, a loaf of bread in our country costs 20 cents.

An absolute prerequisite for a transition to wages that reflect the true value of work is that prices are not set in an abstract way or kept artificially low, otherwise it is difficult to talk about strengthening the currency and curbing speculation.

The referendum did not produce unambiguous support for a radical reorganization of prices and wages. So, we opted for a compromise solution with all the shortcomings that compromises entail. This solution could only ensure the attainment of the goals of the second stage of the reform to a limited degree. So, insufficient progress was made in attaining market equilibrium and promoting efficiency.

We started the practical implementation of the second stage—this was after the Sejm had passed the implementation program in February—in a situation in which

there was considerable disorganization in the marketplace. The reasons for this were later described as the price that has to be paid for democratization and openness. The extensive social consultations that were held on the subject of prices and incomes policy sparked panic buying and a run on savings, which triggered another round of inflation. The effects of this panic in the marketplace are still being felt today with varying degrees of intensity. The recent strikes have produced another wave of panic buying. In short, what we are stressing in the Politburo report is that despite a significant increase in prices, we still have not achieved an improvement in the marketplace. With the higher prices, shop shelves were meant to be full. They are not.

Mistakes were also made in implementing the program. We failed to appreciate the extent to which the relatively high-price increases would put pressure on wages. It was a mistake to make concessions on the level of direct compensatory payments. They weakened the incentive function of wages and have caused disruption in enterprise administration. It became necessary to make adjustments to wage and other financial instruments. However, the effects of exceeding program provisions were not neutralized. The impression that remained was one of instability with respect to mechanisms and principles.

Were subjective factors the sources of these mistakes as some people maintain? Yes, that is true to a certain extent. The attempt to attain too many goals by way of one operation turned out to be wrong. At one fell swoop, we wanted to introduce realistic economic criteria and simultaneously curb subsidies and the budget deficit; improve the prices and wages structure and ensure that everyone enjoys complete social security; improve pay ratios between the material production sphere and the sector financed out of the budget, and achieve at least partial market equilibrium.

These are not the only things that have impacted on the current situation. There are other factors.

These factors have to be sought in the firmly rooted belief that citizens' material demands can be satisfied by way of administrative decisions made by the government, without taking account of what the economy is objectively capable of providing. This belief is not confined to the strikers and the people who are issuing economic demands. It is also held by some of those who represent their interests, and even by some decisionmakers.

Second, there are still faults in the structure of the economy. The process of eliminating these faults is encountering stubborn resistance from those social and occupational groups who stand to lose as a result of restructuring. This is something that has also occurred in other countries.

Is it a coincidence that the strikes have broken out in industries such as mining, iron and steel, and shipbuilding, that is, privileged branches of industry that, as a result of the reform, will have to make adjustments to observe the new, universally binding principles?

Furthermore, even just partial servicing of the foreign debt this year will mean that the domestic market will be worse off to the tune of Z2 billion.

It is also impossible not to notice the clash between short-term interests, between political interests on the one hand, and economic interests on the other hand. If we abandon economic logic for the sake of achieving calm, all we are doing is putting off the inevitable negative socio-economic consequences of such action. In the final analysis, this will only backfire on politics, which has an obvious responsibility toward the economy.

One thing heard in the recent, growing wave of criticism is that the government is deliberately trying to make living conditions worse and to antagonize social groups. This is fundamentally wrong. The basic sense and goal of the work of the Council of Ministers is to strengthen and develop the people's state for the benefit of its citizens. It can be nothing, but that.

No government should and can heed proposals that will essentially have the effect of weakening the economy. This is precisely the nature of recent demands, which do not stem from the long-term interests of the workers class and citizens as a whole, but from the backward-looking claims and attitudes current in some groups. These demands are not subordinated to the strategy of effective development, but to a tactical game whose goal is influence and immediate profits.

The OPZZ and the trade union federations have now aligned themselves particularly strongly with those who are criticizing the government for the failure of the prices and incomes operation. This stems from the role of the unions and their job of representing the world of labor. However, at the same time the unions are formulating demands that, if fulfilled, would bring about economic collapse.

This is a passage from one of many telexes: "The suspension of deliveries of coking coal has resulted in a drastic reduction in deliveries of coke and gas to the "Katowice" Steelmill. This has made it necessary to cut our combine's production of pig iron, steel, and rolled steel by 50 percent. This means that we will not be able to fully satisfy the terms of our agreement with the minister of industry on the additional production of coke, and iron and steel products. These production losses have occurred entirely independently of our combine's work force. There are no circumstances under which this can be allowed to result in a reduction in the additional wages fund—exempt from the tax on supernumerary pay—that has been allocated by the minister

of industry. We warn that any other solution that would harm the interests of our work force would elicit an immediate response from our union. We will use the powers that have been granted us by the law on trade unions.

Our position stems from our profound belief that members of the workers class who are employed in enterprises that are working and accomplishing tasks in the spirit of the principles of the economic reform cannot under any circumstances be made to shoulder the consequences that result from the ineffectiveness of the government's work, which is characterized by a lack of consistency and judgment." (signed: Zbigniew Pabianczyk, chairman of the "Katowice" Steelmill Independent and Self-Governing Union).

I repeat: No sensible government in the world can accept demands of this kind. Their fulfillment would be synonymous with acting in a way that would harm the state and society, more than that, it would lead to catastrophe.

One of the charges leveled at the government is that it has failed to adopt a policy of low price and income growth, which has been advocated by some economists—the so-called deflationary option. The goals and logic of the reform that we are implementing made us decide to adopt a different approach. Members of the Central Committee were provided with sufficiently detailed information about our reasoning.

We should remind ourselves that under the deflationary option one of the conditions for a radical curbing of price growth is an equally radical curbing of wage growth. Instead of greater economic freedom, there would have to be numerous bans and prohibitions, and increased state interference.

We remember the blanket "12-percent wage ceiling," which came in for so much criticism. It was an instrument of precisely this kind. Under the full-fledged deflationary option, the ceiling would have to be much lower, and almost every wage increase would be cut. There would be no question of paying more to those who work well, increasing output and exports, fostering enterprise, and improving the structure of prices and wages. There would even be no question of discharging statutory income reassessment obligations, including the reassessment and upgrading of pensions.

For the sake of truth, we must concede that, given all those defects, the selection of the deflation alternative would not have created such strong social tensions so quickly.

The price-incomes operation has failed in many respects, and its defects have been exhaustingly discussed by the plenum report. On the other hand, we have come closer to real economic accounting, mainly thanks to the changed prices for coal and fuels. These changes are the basis of calculations of the profitability of all branches of production, especially of measures to promote conservation of materials and energy. That is why Comrade Nastalczyk's charge that the structure of prices has deteriorated is not true, but he is right about the ratio of food prices to industrial products.

We have created conditions under which it is possible to abandon the central distribution of assets. We no longer ration the movement of machines, we have greatly curbed the rationing of materials, and we have revitalized the growth of material production, which has been distinctly weakening in the past few years, although this is not only a result of the changes in prices and wages. We could have achieved more if we had been able to stick to our original assumptions to a greater extent.

The most important present task is to master the elementary force of money-market phenomena and to bring back the conditions under which the economic mechanisms of the performance of the economy can function normally. We have made great efforts in this direction, mainly with the help of the special powers granted to the Council of Ministers.

Thanks to greatly increased export production, between April and July we were able to spend $300 million to improve the flow of goods. We have doubled the funds for convertible currency auctions held for the benefit of enterprises.

We agree with Comrade Hanf, who is afraid that convertible currencies will be "eaten up." But could we have allowed the market, especially the food market, to be denuded of goods?! We have also spent additional zlotys to intensify market production, and the results should soon be there.

Yesterday and today the participants at the plenum stressed the need to fully exploit the production and priority capacities of the light industry. Last April and July the government made decisions to fully exploit the production capacities of plants that produce for the market, especially of light industry plants. The most important of these decisions include:

—Spending additional convertible currencies on imports to reach the level of the Central Annual Plan,

—Spending an additional $24 million on imports of leather,

—Increasing cotton imports from the second payments area by 17,000 tonnes,

—Increasing imports of raw materials necessary for synthetic fiber production by $14 million.

Following a decision made in July, in August we signed a contract for additional production by light industry to the tune of Z44 billion and ensured this contract by $32 million. Since the production of socially important

goods such as children's articles and general underwear was still short of needs, on 25 August the government again allotted $50 million for this purpose.

—The present market situation is gradually calming down. Actually, we have been able to maintain the flow of basic foods throughout. In line with the seventh plenum, we have taken measures to keep the flow of some dozens of different articles to shops. We have even taken administrative measures to stop the disorganization of the market, including temporary official distribution of some goods among voivodships.

Some people think that the tested direct rationing of goods supplied to the population should have been introduced in the existing situation.

Like most comrades here, the government does not share this view. Panicky extension of rationing would have spelled disaster for the market and for people's moods.

Are we again to allot 1kg of flour, a bottle of vodka, and a pair of socks to every person? Although this not easy, we must learn how to solve difficult situations in the flow of goods by not resorting to ultimate measures.

I wish to clearly state that all those measures have been able to achieve was to prevent the market from disintegrating. Why have they not been able to improve the present state of the market?

In a situation in which incomes increase faster than the value of consumer goods, all those measures could not have produced the desired results.

The price-incomes policy of the past months has not produced imbalance and inflation. What has? The economic structure and the investments under construction which were inherited at the beginning of the eighties consume a great deal of materials and energy and show an excessive predominance of industrial production over consumer production. Quickly changing this structure requires more than just good will. It requires time and enormous funds for development at the cost of current consumption.

In the present decade we have deliberately chosen a different alternative—to protect consumption, which is in any case low, following the breakdown of the economy at the beginning of the eighties. This has produced the so-called automatic wage adjustments, mechanisms of valorization, and incomes parity for farmers. That is why, despite difficulties, the government has decided to somewhat improve the relation of payments between the budget, which has most suffered from inflation, and material production.

This means that we pay for the production of goods and services that do not reach our market. We estimate that the inflation rate on this account amounts to about 10 percent. We will not eliminate inflation without eliminating those obstacles. Other measures can produce only temporary improvements and amount to artificially curbing increases with all the negative consequences thereof. Inflation will only seem to go down, and failure to eliminate its causes will enable it to rear its head, which will be much more ugly. Analogies from history are there for all to see.

Esteemed Comrades, I have presented this jig-saw puzzle of determining factors in order to demonstrate that neither ad hoc intervention nor miraculous simplicity of various recipes can produce long-term solutions. What should then be done to overcome dangers of economic difficulties?

The government deems it necessary to clearly divide measures into two groups: ad hoc measures for the next 2 or 3 months and measures that enable us to continue to make thorough changes in the economy. The former measures should halt the elementary nature of inflation and its associated phenomena such as intensified purchases of goods. In addition, the next few weeks would be used to prepare economic policy solution in 1989 and 1990 and perhaps in the longer run.

The basic ad hoc measure is what the Politburo report has suggested—to free prices and wages up to the end of this year. Calculations show that this will make it possible to limit inflation to 55-60 percent. Real wages will not decrease, and we will be closer to equilibrium than we are now and have been during the year. Freezing calls for severe measures to keep price hikes and wage increases under close control. That is why it is necessary to stop all claims.

When proposing to freeze wages and prices, Comrade Wladyslaw Baka discussed both the positive and negative aspects of his proposal. We share his views to a great extent. The Council of Ministers Committee for Realizing the Reform is against that freeze, and some members of the Council of Ministers stated their numerous doubts about such a measure. We know that the prospect of freezing wages and prices has disturbed plant managers and leading cadres in the economy. However, this measure is necessary in order to master uncontrolled inflation and to calm down public moods. The measure coincides with the intentions of Comrade Habczyk, who is afraid that inflation may reach a 3-digit percentage. The measure in question is designed to have limited effectiveness.

But we must keep one thing in mind: To be able to speak of any results at all, it is necessary for all levels to provide unconditional, resolute, and consistent political support for the decision itself and for its realization. Otherwise the government decree on this matter—this decree should be made under the scheme of the special powers granted to the government—will simply become a piece

of paper or fiction. That is why everyone must accept and implement the principle that no wage claims will be discussed during the period of freezing.

The previous decisions to improve the flow of goods, to provide priorities for the production of consumer goods, and to raise the effectiveness of the performance of shops should produce results that are better than previous results, because we will simultaneously operate the brakes on price and wage increases and promote incentives to increase the flow of goods.

We expect that the freezing operation will create conditions for the necessary correction in economic policy, which will be listed by the program for consolidating the economy for 1989-90. This program was announced by the Politburo's report to the plenum. The following materials will be used in drawing up that program:

—The principles of the 1989 Central Annual Plan,

—The draft verification of the National Socioeconomic Plan, especially the verification of that part of the plan which concerns the restructuring of the economy,

—The draft long-term plan up to the year 2000.

It is possible that the program may be completed within 2 or 3 months, if intensive efforts are made.

As for price-incomes policy, we expect that next year's indicator of price hikes will be at least twice as low as this year's indicator. We are also working on the alternative that provides for price increases by a small number of percentage points. This is compatible with our earlier intentions and announcements. The selection of this alternative will depend on objective analyses and social consultations. The area of these consultations will certainly be extended by the establishment of the Social and State Commission for Incomes and Prices this September.

Esteemed Comrades, the experience of the past few years shows that our efforts to overcome the longest and deepest crisis in Poland's postwar history are taking place in the face of enormous social tensions and conflicts that come to a head from time to time. These tensions and conflicts continue to hinder and even completely frustrate the achievement of even the most desirable goals.

We will not be able to resolve the mounting problems without changing our political structures and the organization of social life, without devising new forms and methods of management, and without modernizing the mechanisms by which the economy functions. In other words, without profoundly modernizing the now existing model of socialism.

We want to modernize one segment of that model—the system of economic management, which is a very crucial segment—with the help of a great collective undertaking, that is, with the help of the economic reform. This means that the economic reform is a must. We must evaluate the program for realizing the second stage of the economic reform—this program was adopted by the Central Committee and was approved by the Sejm—from precisely this point of view. Given this approach, the original goals of that program continue to be valid in every way.

Radicalism, for which we all appeal, must not be a race of declarations. Under the present conditions, radicalism can assume only one shape: Iron consistency in implementing the economic reform in all its assumptions. But this consistency must not be taken to mean that every formulation has to be slavishly observed. The government will make another review of the program of the second stage of the economic reform, primarily from the angle of accelerating the measures provided for by the program, including the elaboration of new principles of taxation policy, the elimination of monopolies from farm produce procurement, and the introduction of the stock market.

We must also change economic policy and ensure that it is more closely linked to the lines of reform solutions! This is precisely what Comrade Zmudzinski had in mind when he postulated the necessary changes in realizing this policy.

This means that it is necessary to resolve, in theory and in practice, those issues around which conflicts arise the most frequently in both spheres. For example, enterprises and entire branches of industry are naturally reluctant toward the idea of restructuring. The reason is clear—a feeling of being threatened, a feeling that one may lose one's prestige and social status. Nevertheless, we cannot abandon the acceleration of structural changes, even if they are economically and socially difficult.

An example of the acuteness of this problem is the problem of the inefficiency of the shipping industry, which involves closing down the Lenin shipyard in Gdansk, the last link in a long "chain of inefficiency." The point is to overcome political, institutional, and psychological barriers. But that is much more difficult than drafting a new law or dividing assets.

It is not just the shipyard that we are concerned about. Other enterprises are also involved. People are willing to call for restructuring, as long as it takes place in an enterprise or area different from one's own.

The extraordinary powers of the Council of Ministers present the legal possibility of accelerating the closure of inefficient plants. A springboard to do so is provided by a list of 140 enterprises with poor economic results. The following criteria apply:

—A high degree of depreciation;

—An enterprise's inability to finance its own development;

—Low and sinking profitability;

—Bad use of fixed assets.

We have already reached decisions concerning 27 enterprises and concerning dividing the assets of several dozen others. This is a lot, considering the fact that the special Council of Ministers' powers have only been in force 3 months. These decisions have already brought indirect but much desired results. The threatened enterprises have begun to work hard in order to improve their output.

A series of further decisions are being prepared. However, I repeat that the problem does not lie in legal technicalities or in the way in which the assets of the closed enterprises are managed. There are other barriers. I have already mentioned the shipyard. But there is another example, the "Pafawag" railroad carriage plant.

However, we cannot abandon further structural changes. The minister of industry is working on a broader program of action. This will serve as a basis for concrete decisions, especially on the subject of heavy industry.

The assessment of the economic results of enterprises during the first half of the year will also be used. Those enterprises whose results have not improved will be directly threatened with closure. This calls for initiatives not just from the founding bodies of enterprises, but also from local authorities, both administrative and political. Such initiatives have clearly declined in number recently. The plenum should encourage an increase in them.

It is equally important to work out more effective ways of making powerful economic units in the state and cooperative sector be more inventive, energetic, and enterprising. What should be done in order to encourage them to improve their economic situations through their own work and not wait for subsidies and concessions from above, things against which we defend ourselves too weakly?

In the future, too, we will not solve this problem unless everyone—party organizations and cells, workers' self-management bodies, trade unions, and propaganda—applies himself to obeying the established rules of the game; unless everyone stops looking upward and starts looking around. It is chiefly small enterprises and those in the private sector that display flexibility, efficiency, and economic energy today. We will not settle anything if we continue to be offended because this is so, or if we continue to insist that these enterprises are a "danger" to socialism.

How can results be achieved? Only by means of good economic mechanisms, ones that encourage large plants to be inventive in a situation of equal chances for each sector; the development of competition; and boldness in going into liquidation.

Another problem is, what should the activity of enterprises concentrate on?

The answer is simple, on production. But the question is not a rhetorical one. A factory today fulfills various social and other functions. It guarantees wages and bonuses not just because of one's work, but because of the very fact that one is employed there. However, should all these benefits not be separated from wages and paid by another source? Should wages not depend on work and work alone? It is certain that only then will it be possible to convey all wage decisions to factory level. The systemic mechanisms that have been created may and should make this possible.

Finally, how can we achieve a rapid and effective implementation of legal-economic and organizational solutions? How should we ensure that these solutions are felt by society?

The point is to improve the work of the state administration, among other things. We are often accused of excessive zeal in struggling against bureaucracy. We do not hide the fact that cases of careless and soulless bureaucracy occur too frequently, as Comrade Trojanowski has said. We will not combat bureaucracy by means of words. We have to adapt the administration and its structure, organization, and workstyle to the needs of a reformed state and economy.

It is not true that nothing has been achieved in this sphere. We have abolished branch structures of the central administration. Today we have eight ministries less than we used to have. The number of officials has been reduced by one third. The internal structure of ministries has been completely altered. All this has caused the disintegration of internal parochialism. More importantly, it has destroyed the high-handed style of administration. Without these changes, the preparation of all the administrative and legal instruments necessary for the second stage of the reform would have been unthinkable. Neither would there have been any progress in expanding the independence of enterprises.

We are continuing the restructuring of the central administration, concentrating on those offices with an important function so that the implementation of the second stage of the reform may be better coordinated and accelerated. There will be another inspection of the reorganized ministries. We will examine the structure and methods of action of major economic organizations. A further 150-200 enterprises will be transferred from the auspices of the center to the auspices of the field.

However, the center consists of more than just the administration. It also consists of political, social, and cooperative bodies. For example, there is general criticism of the expansion of intermediary and top-level bodies in the cooperative sector, whose independence and self-government is protected by law. All these institutions must be restructured at the same time as those in the central administration. Otherwise, disproportions will occur. There was not a single case of disproportions last year.

In order to really change the present system of management, it is essential to change the law. However, one must not demolish the legal system in a carefree manner. The demand for the abolition of all legal barriers in one go is a utopian one. Profound changes to the law can only occur according to constitutional procedures. The point is that our legal system should conform to the objectives of the reform; that it be simple, flexible, comprehensive, and stable. Besides, a doctrine of trust should be the point of departure for a regulation of relations between the state and the citizen.

Plans in this sphere include the abolition of many existing rules. The bill on the start of economic activity alone calls for the repeal of about 100 legal instruments, including over a dozen acts. The government considers it necessary to push this bill through in its adopted form as quickly as possible.

In September we will submit to the Sejm a bill on reducing the Council of Ministers' legislative powers by one third. Lists of ministerial legal instruments meant to remain in force during the second stage of the reform will be prepared by 31 December. In other words, all the legal instruments that conflict with this stage will be abolished. It is foreseen that the 1952 decree which legally sanctioned rationing will be annulled among other things. As a result, all the legal instruments adopted on the basis of this decree will also be annulled.

A bill on the formulation of law will be prepared by the end of the year. Next year, a bill on the Council of Ministers will complete the work. In this entire subject matter, we intend not just to prepare our own solutions, but also to ask legal experts for advice. We will select for adoption whatever proposal is the most effective, whoever its author may be.

Esteemed comrades! The implementation of the above intentions requires the fulfillment of important conditions, including extraordinary powers for the government. However, one must realize that these conditions merely abolish legal barriers. Several comrades have criticized the way in which these conditions are being fulfilled. Everyone has the right to say what he believes. If we do receive a political decree to freeze prices and wages, this decree will no doubt be a decision of momentous responsibility, and one that stems from the extraordinary government powers.

How do we assess the fulfillment of the remaining conditions? During the space of 3 months, several new economic instruments have been introduced. I have already discussed the liquidation of enterprises and the distribution of their assets.

We do not think we have done everything possible. But I do not think one can adopt decisions of key importance for industrial plants, especially in heavy industry, overnight.

The adopted solutions include a ban on investments involving the extension of buildings because of difficulties in supplies for the building industry. The point is to reduce the excessive investments front and accelerate other investments, such as modernization.

Allow me to make one more digression on the use of powers, comrades. Particularly heavy disruptions occurred in sales of sugar and meat products. After the cause had been established, Deputy Premier Sadowski, acting on the government's special powers, asked the Ministry of Agriculture, Food, and Forestry to fire the directors of four enterprises. The managements of several others received gentler sanctions, including the director of the sugar refinery and the director of a meat processing plant who had failed to fill orders from other voivodships, but had merely stockpiled goods destined for their own backyard.

Even with special powers, the dismissal of a director has to be discussed with workers' councils beforehand. These were violently opposed to such a suggestion. Local political and administrative authorities also lodged a sharp protest. As a result, only one director was fired and the rest admonished.

Another example is the closure of the enterprises I discussed. Every time one of them received the threat of closure, an entire campaign was launched in its defense by local administrative and party authorities and by nationwide propaganda.

All these intentions also require the fulfillment of a political condition—a consolidation of the forces and resources at the party's disposal. What I mean is that our deputies club should be militant in implementing the programs that have been drafted by the government and approved by the Central Committee, as well as the executive regulations adopted by the Politburo.

What I also mean is that voivodship and primary party bodies should firmly combat all signs of parochialism, all signs of preferring one's own area to other areas of the country, and consistently support the process of implementing the reforms and overcome opposition to it whenever it appears.

In the face of the threat to the country's fabric and standard of living and in view of the attempts to destroy the reform, the need for cohesion and unity in action is

the same as the need for a strict and objective analysis of the mistakes that have been made and for the drawing of essential conclusions from them.

Sejm Criticizes Economic Policy, Demands Change

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[Text] We devote the next 3 minutes of our program to Adam Kalinski and his report from the session of the Extraordinary Sejm Committee.

[Kalinski] This time the state of the Polish economy was being debated in the Sejm corridors. During the 2d day of the session of the Extraordinary Sejm Committee for monitoring the implementation of the economic reform, the floor was taken by deputies and by experts, while government representatives gave their views on the problems touched upon during the discussions.

The forum of deputies was very critical in its appraisal of the government's actions. This criticism was directed not only against the government report on the implementation of the extraordinary powers and prerogatives of the Council of Ministers. Many deputies emphasized that the social assessment of the state of the economy is no less important than the statistical and substantive appraisal. Some deputies, criticizing certain specific actions such as, for example, the latest prices and incomes operation which, in their view, had brought about results which were diametrically opposite to those intended, suggested that, in view of the general feeling of dissatisfaction, and not just on the part of society, there should be a change in the direction of reforming the economy.

One of the speakers said that the failure of actions undertaken so far was caused among other things by the fact that, to tell the truth, no one knew who was responsible for specific decisions and no one knew where those decisions were taken. The individualism of political and executive power continues to exist. The principle of responsibility to match power cannot be implemented, since no one knows who has how much power. This situation, according to the deputy, demands political changes.

Among the government representatives to take the floor were domestic Trade Minister Jerzy Jozwiak; Industry Minister Jerzy Bilip; Labor Minister Ireneusz Sekula; and Finance Minister Bazyli Samojlik. It was his statement in particular which was awaited with great interest, since criticism of the Finance Ministry surfaced very often in deputies' speeches.

Minister Samojlik did not agree with the statement that the ministry is implementing a policy of excessive fiscalization. He stated that the causes and the sources of inflation do not lie in fiscal policies. Some voices—for example those which postulate that interest rates on savings should be raised to 60 percent, that is by as much as the rate of inflation will amount to this year—are unrealistic, since they do not take into account at the same time an equal rise in the interest rate of bank credits.

Finally, the floor was taken by Deputy Premier Zdzislaw Sadowski. Thanking the meeting for the critical discussion, he said that the government is aware of the bad state of the economy but that this did not come about through the fault of the reform. The point of the reform is to eliminate all the negative economic phenomena. This needs time and perseverance. One must not, the deputy premier said, allow oneself to sink into defeatism.

Deputy Stasiak, who took the floor after Deputy Premier Sadowski, said that he could not understand at all how the arguments of the deputies, the trade unions, and other social centers and the arguments presented by members of the government could be so divergent. This happened during the last Sejm session and was confirmed at today's meeting of the extraordinary committee.

And finally, the chairman of the Extraordinary Sejm Committee for monitoring the implementation of the economic reform, Deputy Krystyna Jandy-Jendroska, summed up the 2-day session. The committee will work on its results within its working groups. The result of this work will be presented at the next Sejm meeting.

Lack of Results Criticized

LD0109232188 Warsaw PAP in English 2206 GMT 1 Sep 88

[Text] Warsaw, Sept. 1—The Sejm Extraordinary Committee for monitoring the implementation of economic reform ended its two-day debates today.

The committee analyzed the first government report on the execution of the special powers granted to it by parliament on may 11, 1968.

The deputies assessed both the real capacities of the national economy, the correctness of the decisions made as well as the skills of the governing. As is understandable, the views, opinions and points of views on these matters differed, also among the deputies. They surfaced naturally in the exchange of views and quite a few clashes with government members.

During the discussion the deputies stated that their apprehension stemmed from their sense of responsibility, from the fact that society has confidence in the Sejm. We observe society's frustration caused by bad working conditions, poor state of the natural environment, numerous everyday troubles in dealing with the health service, post offices and the like. In all of these fields Polish standards fall short of European ones. That is why

our assessment of the implementation of the reform must be different from that of the government which deems market imbalance as the basis of social unrest, the deputies pointed out.

It is necessary to find a key to release human energy and care. In radicalizing the solutions of the reform, the government should find the simplest measures which would change the social perception about a lack of logics in economic mechanisms.

Next, government officials replied to questions from deputies. Here is some of the information they supplied:

Some 150 more enterprises are expected to be handed over under the founding authority of local administration bodies this month. At a meeting scheduled for September 6th, the government and the All-Poland Alliance of Trade Unions (OPZZ) are to assess whether cushioning measures are sufficient this year or are extra steps to be taken this autumn.

It is very likely that decisions will be eventually made about raising minimum pensions and increasing earning opportunities for old-age pensioners and disability benefit recipients.

If it turns out that some enterprises have too low wages, they will be granted tax relief. This will hold true for the Polish post, for example.

First results of better supplies to the market should be palpable even this month.

Between January and August this year, Polish exports to socialist countries grew by 11 per cent, while exports to capitalist countries—by 21 per cent. At the same time imports from Western countries rose by 26 per cent. Exports effectiveness was improved and the number of enterprises selling their goods abroad climbed.

Deputy Prime Minister Zdzislaw Sadowski said that failure of the attempt to render the price structure more real had aggravated both the economic situation and social climate around the government which was criticised for inconsistence and indolence. The government analyses criticism thoroughly.

One thing is certain: No government, whoever its members are, can operate in a climate of constant pressure and being urged to meet contradictory demands and postulates. We nourish a hope, said the deputy prime minister, that decisions of the committee, and subsequently—of the Sejm, will lead to purification of the air around the government.

Does the programme of the second stage of economic reforms need to be revised presently. The programme, said the deputy prime minister, continues to be misunderstood as society has not been made fully aware of it. Implementation implies solving many essential problems pertaining to foundations of a new model of socialist economy, said Sadowski. We adopted a principle that praxis itself should provide answers to numerous isues related to the new model.

New problems continue to arise in this process, such as, for example, relations between political and administrative systems. Asking these questions alone proves today how advanced the reformatory process is.

The government is blamed that equality between sectors (of ownership, ed.) continues to be in want. This, however, requires legislative solutions which take time.

The government is also accused of having allowed excessive buildup of investment front. Meanwhile, since 1985 certain improvement in efficiency of investment processes has been taking place.

It is not limitation of exports that is indispensable, but on the contrary, upholding its high growth rate, and particularly of exports of high-processed products. It will allow, among other things, for extra replenishment of the market with imported goods.

Such is the government's explicit stand on the issue, irrespective of this or that opinion voiced by particular members of the cabinet, said the cabinet's deputy prime minister.

Unsatisfied with Sadowski's address, Deputy Stanislaw Stasiak of the United Peasants' Party (UPP) said that the committe convened if not at a breakthrough time, then definitely at a time which was very significant for the development of the country.

Deputies presented their reasons, and so did the govenment. A corollary of deputy Prime Minister Sadowski's final address, said Deputy Stasiak, is that no one is right: neither the OPZZ, nor people as they do not understand the reform, nor deputies as they do not comprehend the strategy of the state's development.

Meanwhile, experience shows that even deputies' contributions, awkward as they may be at times, contain lots of reason in assessment of condition of the economy.

Unacceptable is the situation, emphasized the deputy, where deputies take the floor in the course of debates of the committee, while the government takes a stand with regard to their contributions. It is deputies who should take a stand with regard to contributions of government members.

I think we have to do with self-appeasement, said Deputy Stasiak. It is said that there has not been enough time to ascertain whether effects of implementation of the reform are correct. I wonder if the three months granted to the government by the Sejm to present a report are not by any chance too short a time too, said the deputy.

The government operates in very difficult conditions. Nevertheless, we must remember words pronounced during the 8th PUWP CC plenum to the effect that barriers hampering the reform must be broken through.

And thus, either we agree with opinions aired by political, public and representative bodies, or we shall have a dychotomy of opinions and views, as has been the case so far.

Deputy Jandy-Jendroska, the chairwoman of the Extraordinary Committee, said that operation of the government had been evaluated critically, particularly because of the little effectiveness. Reservations were voiced as to justifiability of certain solutions adopted.

In that entire critical assessment, she underscored, concern was expressed over the proper course of the process of reformation.

Information accumulated in this way will now become material for analysis of problems that have been raised. As of today, said the chairwoman, the committee will start documents presented by the government, trade unions as well as complaints sent to the Sejm Committee for Complaints and Motions and to the Constitutional Tribunal.

Also taken into consideration should be the resolutions adopted at the recent plenary sessions of the PUWP Central Committee and UPP chief committee as well as the stands of the OPZZ and the socio-economic council attached to the Sejm. We envision a week-long period of permanent team work, said Deputy Jandy-Jendroska.

A draft resolution of the Extraordinary Committee is expected to be finally formulated on September 9th.

Committee Debates End

LD0109181888 Warsaw PAP in English
1716 GMT 1 Sep 88

[Text] Warsaw, Sept. 1—The Sejm Extraordinary Committee for Economic Reform Control ended two-day debates today.

The discussion pointed to the weaknesses of reform application. A report from the meeting will be tabled during the upcoming, plenary meeting of the Sejm.

Messner, Szalajda Address Voivodes on Tasks

LD0109214988 Warsaw PAP in English
2005 GMT 1 Sep 88

[Text] Warsaw, Sept. 1—Voivodes met for a conference at the Council of Ministers' office here today to discuss tasks resulting for the state administration from the course and resolution of the 8th PUWP CC Plenum.

While opening the conference, Prime Minister Zbigniew Messner discussed the current social and economic situation in Poland. He said that tensions and strike actions bore a significant impact upon social moods.

These actions are of a political nature, although they also result from the difficult economic situation. The causes of justified social criticism can be in many cases removed by means of perfecting the operation of state administration bodies, while numerous issues raised by society can be solved on the spot, without waiting for decisions of central administration.

Deputy Prime Minister Zbigniew Szalajda presented detailed tasks for the coming period and informed voivodes about work which had been commenced towards designing a plan of consolidation of economy for the years 1989-1990.

Szalajda said that the work on preparation of the plan of consolidation of economy should be completed as soon as possible, and hence the Central Annual Plan which had been prepared earlier would not be published.

The deputy prime minister appealed to participants of the conference to define tasks and make decisions themselves on issues with regard to which preliminary actions were indispensable, without delaying any issues or waiting for the consolidation plan since the work on the plan must not hamper implementation of current tasks of state administration bodies.

Szalajda discussed at length the issue of market supply and operation. He also reported measures taken by the government towards stepping up supplies.

With the increased supplies, improvement of the market situation requires at the same time greater discipline, punctuality and responsibility in the operation of commerce and services. The point is to tangibly improve supplies the country over.

Szalajda referred to persisting pay disputes. The disputes pertain to issues of all-Polish, local and workplace nature. The point is not to delay issues related to the disputes and not to postpone them without taking a stand in accordance with powers at disposal at all levels.

The stand does not necessarily have to imply satisfaction of pay demands, but it does have to be taken in a responsible manner and with the right timing.

Szalajda reported also about government work in the field of price and income policy.

In a discussion, voivodes reported social and economic situation in their territories and submitted also their opinions and motions of a more general nature.

Prime Minister Messner summed up the conference and emphasized that the motions voiced by voivodes would be considered at the next session of the Council of Ministers.

The prime minister instructed voivodes to display more initiative in developing rental and lease systems with simultaneous establishment of conditions for setting up specialized shops.

Another task facing voivodes is preparation for introduction of municipal ownership. The prime minister encouraged voivodes to institute actions toward elimination of superfluous intermediate links in the economy.

And yet another permanent task of the state administration should consist in taking care of any proposals, ideas and motions which would allow to perfect the operation of offices and to improve services rendered to the population.

Espiscopate Urges Guarantees for Strikers

LD0109163488 Hamburg DPA in German 1540 GMT 1 Sep 88

[Excerpt] Gdansk (DPA)—The Polish Episcopate has today made the call by striking workers for guarantees of safety its own. Tadeusz Goclowski, bishop of Gdansk, announced to shipyard workers in St Brigyda's Church that he had received a relevant telex from the Secretariat of the Bishops Conference. According to this the bishops demand that all participants in the strikes be guaranteed their jobs and personal safety. The Episcopate would follow this attentively and where necessary negotiate with the government on this. As was said in Solidarity circles the Episcopate is thought to have received relevant promises from high government officials. [passage omitted]

Mass Held on Social Accords Anniversary in Szczecin

LD0109194688 Vatican City International Service in Polish 1415 GMT 1 Sep 88

[Text] Szczecin—30 August has been a traditional worker's holiday in Szczecin for 8 years, during which working people gather in the cathedral to give thanks by prayer for the August social accords and to request their implementation, and to consider in the spirit of the Gospel difficult social matters.

This year, 30 August was the 14th day of the strike in the port and the bus depot—strikes, the main demand of which is to create a trade union law. From the outset, Szczecin Kamien church has remained at the side of strikers, giving them pastoral care. Priests have taken confessions, held holy masses and proclaimed the word of God. In one of the churches an information and charity post was set up for the strikers' families. On 21 August a special pastoral letter from Szczecin Kamien Bishop Kazimierz Majdanski was read in all the diocese's churches and also during masses in work enterprises.

On 30 August in the afternoon, Bishop Kazimierz Majdanski, together with auxiliary bishops, came to the gate of the Szczecin shipyard in order to recite the Angelus and venerate the cross at the plaque to the shipyard workers fallen in 1970. The auxiliary bishops continued the prayers in the Sanctuary of the Immaculate Conception of the Our Lady of Fatima. In the barricaded port the mass began at 1900.

In the evening, Bishop Kazimierz Majdanski held his customary annual celebratory mass on the anniversary of the signing of the social accords. In the cathedral, which was packed, there were also representatives of the striking dockers. In their words of greeting and request they said: We do not harbor spite and hate. We want a just social peace, we want the conditions to materialize for the implementation and protection of the general good by our own trade unions. It is not material reasons but the defense of our right to be ourselves, the defense of our spirituality, and also of our Christianity, which is at the basis of our strike, which is an enormous effort of the spirit, heart and also body.

In the homily, he gave Bishop Kazimierz Majdanski expressed recognition for the strikers, for their toil, for their will to intensify the spirit during the strike, for their devotion to the Holy Mother. Bishop Majdanski bore witness and affirmed that workers are struggling for a legal Poland—no one is demanding anarchy. History is being created here, written in the cross under which the Mother stands. This year's August is a link in the chain of that history. Neither the history nor the people who created it may be forgotten. Next, Bishop Majdanski recalled the difficult history of Poland after becoming independent. That history teaches us, as does that which is happening today. Not many people are striking, not many are needed; it suffices that they have many behind them, and the most important thing is that it is not the crowd which counts, not the strength, but every human being. We are told about the losses, there are losses, but after all they did not start today and they are not just a question of falling production. Poverty and demoralization destroy, particularly the family. There is no shortage of paper in Poland for pornography and at that, it is printed also by the so-called Union of Polish Scouting. We trust that 1988 will not be a year of too great losses, that it will initiate a great good. Poland has not died yet [words of Polish national anthem], that's a beautiful hymn, but that's little; it has to live, and to live means to develop, grow, breathe truth, freedom and peace.

The holy mass which was celebrated in Szczecin on 30 August, on the anniversary of the signing of the accords in 1980, was ended by the act of delivering the diocese to the Holy Mother with the great request: Mother redeem us, Mother save us, Mother be victorious!

Official Ministerial Delegation Visits Katyn

LD0109200988 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1730 GMT 1 Sep 88

[Text] An official Polish delegation made up of representatives of the Defense and Foreign Ministries and Council for the Protection of Monuments to Struggle and Martyrdom today visited Lenino. Wreaths were laid at the monument marking Polish-Soviet brotherhood in arms. The delegation also visited the cemetary in Katyn where Polish officers are buried. Additional plaques were then unveiled.

Ceausescu Addresses Agriculture Meeting

AU0109161688 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1300 GMT 1 Sep 88

[Text] Today, 1 September 1988, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the SR of Romania, participated in meeting with the party aktiv and basic cadres in agriculture.

The meeting, which was held on 30 August-1 September, in plenum and in county groups, was attended by county RCP committee first secretaries and secretaries in charge of agricultural issues, chairmen of the joint agro-industrial state and cooperative councils of the county unions of the agricultural production cooperatives, directors of the county general agricultural directorates, of the trusts of Agricultural State Enterprises and Agricultural Machinery stations, of horticultural trusts, and of the enterprises for contracting, acquisition, and preservation of agricultural products; also attending were directors of state agricultural enterprises and chairmen of agricultural production cooperatives, which obtained large yields at cereal production, party activists, representatives of some ministeries, and experts in the field of scientific research.

Upon arrival to the Braodcastis Hall, where the meeting took place, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu was welcomed with enthusiasm by the participants in the proceedings. All those present cheered for minutes on end and chanted the name of the party, of its secretary general, and of our socialist homeland.

Together with Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, full and candidate members of the Political Executive Meeting of the RCP Central Committee, secretaries of the RCP Central Committee, and leadership cadres in some ministries and central institutions took their seats on the presidium of the meeting.

The agenda of the meeting included:

- The report on results obtained for wheat, barley and other crops, which were harvested in the summer of 1988; on the stage of delivering products to the State Centralized Stock; and on the conclusions drawn and measures to be taken to fulfill the plan for cereals in 1989 and the plan indicators in livestock breeding, as well as on actions that have to be taken in order to achieve the planned number of animals and quantity of animal products;

- The program of measures on preparing and carrying out the fall harvesting campaign, cereal sowing operations, the deep plowing, and other actions which increase the production capacity of the soil.

During the proceedings of the meeting, the participants also examined issues connected with the evaluation, harvesting, and storing of fall agricultural products; the structure of crops in 1989; the program for sowing natural pastures, including grazing forests.

Discussing the issues submitted for debates in plenum and in the meetings of county groups, a large number of participants took the floor. The discussions emphasized the great appreciation for Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's brilliant activity devoted to the constant progress of our socialist homeland, stressing his decisive role in establishing the general strategy of socioeconomic development of the country, in developing and implementing the new agrarian revolution, and in organizing and leading the vast process of building socialism and communism in Romania.

The participants in the proceedings expressed their high esteem and appreciation for Comrade Elena Ceausescu, front ranking militant of our party and state, and scientist of world renown, who is making an outstanding contribution to drafting and implementing the plans and programs for the comprehensive development of the homeland and to ensuring the progress of the Romanian science, education, and culture.

In the spirit of Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's guidelines and recommendations, the speakers examined the results of the campaign of harvesting cereals and of the operations of delivering products to the State Centralized Stock, and examined measures required to fulfill the current year's plan in all the agricultural fields. The meeting was an opportunity for a great exchange of experience aimed at endorsing the most advanced work technologies, perfecting the working style and methods, and improving the ways in which the party bodies and organizations, peoples councils, and joint agroindustrial state and cooperative councils should work in order to fulfill all plan indicators and programs for an intensive development of agriculture.

At the end of the meeting, received with the warmest feelings of appreciation and gratitude and with strong applause and chants, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu took the floor.

The party secretary general's speech was followed with particular interest and complete approval and repeatedly underscored with enthusiastic applause and loud chants. All those present chanted with enthusiasm the name of the party and of its secretary general.

The meeting of the party aktiv and leadership cadres in agriculture concluded in an enthusiastic atmosphere. Inspired by the guidelines and recommendations included in Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's speech, the participants expressed the determination of all the agricultural workers to work unflinchingly and in a revolutionary spirit to completely fulfill the plan for this year and for the whole 5-year plan period and the special

programs for developing and modernizing our socialist agriculture, to do all they can to implement the historical decisions of the 13th RCP Congress and of the party national conference, and to fulfill the objectives of the new agrarian revolution in an exemplary way.

Further Report

AU0109200688 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1924 GMT 1 Sep 88

["President Nicolae Ceausescu's Speech"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] In his extensive speech delivered on Thursday, September 1, at the end of a working meeting on agricultural affairs, President Nicolae Ceausescu showed that the meeting had discussed major questions related to production and set the necessary measures to fulfil the plan and programmes for 1988, to perform operations in preparation for the next year's harvest. The meeting, the speaker said, turned into a broad democratic framework, which occasioned extensive critical and self-critical debates on all the programmes and plans for the development of Romanian agriculture.

Showing the summer production to be better than back in 1987, Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out that in 38 counties there were units with crops larger than 5,000 kgs of wheat and barley per hectare. Showing that summer crops larger than the previous year's were harvested in general, the speaker said they were, however, below possibilities.

Referring to the tasks incumbent on agricultural units in the autumn campaign, the president insisted on the need to work most responsibly to assess, harvest and store the farm output as a whole, which will allow every cooperative farmer to receive in kind a corresponding amount of farm products, as well as larger sums of money resulting from farm-produce sales. Likewise, the speaker said, workers in state farming enterprises and farm machinery stations, whose pays are directly linked to the production obtained, must do everything possible to have the largest possible crops, as it is on them that their pays and incomes depend directly.

Calling attention to the need to fully achieve the state centralized farm produce stock, as well as the self-sufficiency stocks, President Nicolae Ceausescu showed that to be the only way for agriculture to provide for a fine supply of the population, of all working people, for the satisfaction of the other requirements of industry, of the national economy, of export.

A significant section of his speech was devoted to questions related to the rational use of land. President Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out that the country's arable area should extend on minimum 10,000,000 hectares the next year being increased through the operations envisaged for 1988.

Nicolae Ceausescu then referred to a number of measures to secure stable crops in all units. In that context, he underscored the importance of an on-time proper performance of all irrigation operations, with a low water consumption.

He called attention to the fact that soil-fertilization works should focus on the use of natural fertilizers and of mineral substances, chemicals consumption being reduced to a minimum. The use of chemicals in agriculture is highly important for the maintenance of the quality of the environment, of the people's health, the speaker emphasized in that context.

The obtainment of fine crops next year and of fine crops in general calls for the application of the whole package of measures, the strengthening of responsibility, order and discipline in all sectors of activity, Nicolae Ceausescu said, placing emphasis on the reserves available in Romanian agriculture.

Next, President Nicolae Ceausescu approached questions related to the development of animal-breeding laying stress on the measures required to implement the programmes for the growth of this sector. The speaker insisted on the need to improve and better the organization of all activities in agriculture so as to ensure bigger farm outputs and the growth of other activities, higher incomes of cooperative farmers, of all the people working in agriculture, to enhance the contribution of agriculture to the fulfilment of the provisions of the current five-year plan.

Special attention was paid in the speech to continuously improving research activity, to enhancing the role of research units throughout the country. We must do so as science become the decisive factor of progress in agriculture, of the new agrarian revolution, Nicolae Ceausescu said stressing the demand for a systematic improvement of professional, scientific, technical knowledge of experts, workers and cooperative farmers, of all the people working in agriculture, of the entire peasantry.

In his speech, President Ceausescu requested that special attention be paid to production organization and modernization, to increasing productivity, reducing expenditures and raising remunerativeness and profits in every state and cooperative farming unit, to more powerfully increasing economic efficiency in agriculture.

The implementation of our economic and social development programs, socialist construction are a direct contribution to the general growth of our homeland, to enhancing Romania's contribution to the policy of international coopertion with all states, to the policy of disarmament, of peace, of building a better and more just world, Nicolae Ceausescu said.

Recalling the principles that underlie Romania's foreign relations the speaker said: Reality, life have fully proved the correctness of the stand taken by the RCP, that has

always declared, starting with the Ninth Congress, for the building of socialism in consensus with Romania's conditions and realities, by applying general laws, socialist principles to Romania's realities.

Life has proved that socialism cannot be built according to models or patterns, that every party, every people are directly responsible for the application of general laws, that the people is the only—and supreme—judge of the policy of the party in its country.

It is the only one that can and must assess whether the road and the problems of socialist construction were solved properly or not, and it is with full satisfaction that I could say that we had and we have fine results, that life has proved we followed the proper road, that we will continue our progress along that road, which meets the interests of our people, of the cause of socialism and peace in general.

We are firmly determined, the way we have been so far, to intensify our collaboration and cooperation with the developing countries, our cooperation and mutual assistance for every country's indeendent economic development, considering this to be also an expression of our just international policy which acts in support of all peoples wishing to live independent and free.

We will also further develop our collaboration and cooperation with the developed capitalist countries, with all the states of the world, irrespective of social system.

We desire and we will work resolutely for an active participation in the international division of labour, in the exchange of material and spiritual assets. We understand well and we wish to intensify scientific, technical and cultural collaboration with all the peoples in the world. However, we consider that all this should be achieved according to the new-type principles of equality, in the interest of every people, any form of one state's interference in the affairs of another being excluded. This is the only way to attain the new-type principles of international relations, the new way of thinking that is asserting itself and that should triumph—that of achieving a new-type policy, new-type relations of equality, of progress for every nation, of welfare and independence for every people.

Agrij Commune Sends Message to Ceausescu

AU0109162088 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 30 Aug 88 pp 1, 5

["Telegram Addressed to Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu by Participants in a Civic Rally Held in Agrij Commune, Salaj County"]

[Text] Much beloved and esteemed Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP Secretary General and President of the SR of Romania: We, the young and old inhabitants of Agrij Commune, Salaj County, who are participating in the civic rally, take this opportunity to express our sentiments of boundless love, high regard, and warm gratitude to you, illustrious leader of our party and state, ardent patriot, and prominent political personality of the contemporary world, to whom we owe everything dignified and durable that has been built on the ancient Romanian soil of Salaj, in the bright historic years of the "Nicolae Ceausescu Era."

Under the sign of the noblest feelings of our duty of honor, heart, and conscience, we assure you, much esteemed and beloved Comrade Secretary General, that we, along with all the country's sons, will never forget the huge political and revolutionary opening initiated by you after the Ninth RCP Congress. You fully gave us back the bright feeling of the fatherland's history, the consciousness of our national dignity, and the right to clearly state, without distortion, the truth about our millenia-old past. We are fully aware of the fact that we owe you—much beloved and esteemed Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, brilliant builder of modern Romania, who have turned the past 23 years of the Romanian people's peaceful and revolutionary work and construction into a true historic epoch—the fact that we have gained real and legitimate trust in our own forces and in the people's monolithic unity around the party and its secretary general.

As a result of the direct assistance granted and the investments made, the working and living conditions of the 2,490 inhabitants of Agrij Commune have radically changed for the better, with dignity. Today, the appearance of Agrij, Treznea, Rastoltu-Desert, and Bozna villages, which make up Agrij Commune, bears the imprint of fraternal work and the mark of well-being and happiness.

We report to you, much beloved and esteemed Comrade Secretary General, that, compared with 1968, the value of the fixed assets available to our commune's two cooperative units has increased by more than 4.6 million lei, the agricultural area by 270 hectares, the arable land by 193 hectares, and the natural pastures and hayfields by 400 hectares. Following the modernization of the technical - material base, vegetable and animal production has increased on a yearly basis. Thus, compared with 1968, the average yield of wheat has increased by 620 kilograms per hectare, the average yield of corn, by almost 1,800 kilograms per hectare, and the average yield of vegetables, by 4,000 kilograms per hectare, while the number of livestock has increased by more than 700 cattle and almost 500 pigs.

We have developed various small-scale industrial units, which will achieve commodity production worth more than 2.8 million lei this year, and the service network will perform activities worth more than 900,000 lei in 1988. Further conclusive proof of your generous care for the destiny of the fatherland's sons lies in the fact that the volume of commodity sales has increased by 67

percent and that new trade outlets, cultural clubs, kindergartens, a gymnasium, a bakery, a medical unit, a block of flats, and almost 200 new houses were built in this period.

Recalling the glorious road opened 23 years ago by the Ninth RCP Congress, we, the inhabitants of Agrij Commune, harbor in our hearts the vivid and painful memory of the tragic events of 9 September 1940, when the Fascist - Horthyist troops slaughtered 86 peaceful inhabitants of Treznea village in the Salaj region.

To make sure that such atrocities never happen again, that the sacrifice of the 86 Treznea martyrs will be a constant warning of the evil consequences of such inhuman and profoundly irrational practices, and that their fate may become a symbol of our opposition to any attempts at inciting feelings of nationalism, hatred, and chauvinism among people, nationalities, and nations, we respectfully ask you, much beloved and esteemed Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, to approve the proposal advanced at the civic meeting of Agrij Commune inhabitants to name this administrative-territorial unit Treznea-Agrij. We respectfully inform you that Treznea village has the oldest documentary attestation—dating back to the year 1440—among the localities making up Agrij Commune, and that until 1950 it had the status of a commune seat, and it currently has the greatest area, equipment, and number of inhabitants after the commune seat.

We assure you, much beloved and esteemed Comrade Secretary General, that this will be a new and strong impetus for the Communists and all inhabitants of our commune to contribute, through peaceful and constructive efforts, to implementing the great decisions of the 13th Congress and the National Conference of the RCP. We will ensure that no shadow of events alien to the Romanian people's vocation for peace and friendship, and to their spirit of humanity, understanding, and cooperation with all nations will ever be cast on our fatherland's new history, which is a continuous series of monumental achievements.

In view of the generous atmosphere created by your steady concern with organizing and modernizing localities, and taking into consideration our commune's economic potential and the overall requirements for better use of local resources, we would also like to respectfully ask you, much beloved and esteemed Comrade Secretary General, to grant our commune the status of residence seat of the respective state and cooperative agroindustrial joint council, which will turn our commune into a modern agroindustrial city center.

We are determined to work day by day, in a spirit of firmness and exactingness, to increase our vegetable and animal production, so that the overall agricultural production can grow by 42.5 percent in the year 2000. As you have suggested, we will expand and diversify the service network, whose volume will increase by 51.8 percent in the year 2000 compared with 1988, while industrial commodity production will increase four times over. On this basis, the volume of our economic activity will increase by 38.1 percent compared with this year. This will permit the transformation of our commune into a strong and modern agroindustrial center, something which will lay a sound foundation for raising the material and intellectual living standard of all working people.

We assure you, much beloved and esteemed Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, that, by unswervingly following your bright example of revolutionary work and struggle, we, the inhabitants of Agrij Commune, will do all we can, in a spirit of patriotic responsibility and devotion, to increase our contribution to fulfilling the plans and programs for the socioeconomic development of the county and fatherland this year and throughout the 5-Year Plan period, so as to welcome the RCP Central Committee plenum with fruitful results, which are up to the constant material investments granted to us and the trust put into us.

We respectfully ask you to permit us to wholeheartedly extend to you, from the Romanian soil of Salaj, most heartfelt and warmest wishes for many happy years, much health and energy, and new and fruitful successes, for the glory of the RCP and for the progress and prosperity of our beloved fatherland, Socialist Romania, whose bright contemporary history bears the golden imprint of your name, the most brilliant of its heroes.

Ceausescu To Visit Kenya in September

AU3008172588 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1630 GMT 30 Aug 88

["President Nicolae Ceausescu Will Visit the Republic of Kenya"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 30/08/1988—The president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, Nicolae Ceausescu, and Mrs Elena Ceausescu will pay an official goodwill visit to the Republic of Kenya at the invitation of the president of the Republic of Kenya, Daniel Toroitich arap Moi, in the first decade of September, 1988.

Ceausescu To Visit Tanzania in September

AU0109180288 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1646 GMT 1 Sep 88

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 01/09/1988—The president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, Nicolae Ceausescu, and Mrs Elena Ceausescu will pay an official good-will visit to the United Republic of Tanzania at the invitation of the president of the United Republic of Tanzania, Ali Hassan Mwinyi, in the first decade of September 1988.

Ceausescu Greets Sam Nujoma on Namibian Day

AU3008161288 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 26 Aug 88 p 6

["On the Day of Namibia" message from Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the SR of Romania, to Sam Nujoma, president of the South West African People's Organization]

[Text] To Comrade Sam Nujoma, president of the South West African People's Organization [SWAPO]:

On behalf of the RCP Central Committee, the Romanian people, and on my own behalf, I take pleasure in conveying warmest greetings and congratulations to you and to all SWAPO's fighters and militants, on the anniversary of the beginning of the Namibian people's struggle, under SWAPO's leadership, for liberation from colonial domination, to eliminate the illegal occupation by the South African racist regime, and to achieve Namibia's national independence.

In the spirit of the relations of friendship and militant solidarity between our parties and people, the RCP, the SR of Romania, and the Romanian people will continue to support the struggle of the Namibian people against foreign domination and to fulfill their aspirations for freedom and national independence, peace, and socio-economic progress.

Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the SR of Romania

Grenade Found, Disposed of in Pristina

AU0109180088 Pristina Domestic Service in Albanian 1700 GMT 1 Sep 88

[Text] A hand grenade with its safety seal removed, ready for use, was found today in the Lakriste quarter of Pristina, between the first and second apartment blocks. The grenade was first noticed by communal services workers, who at once informed the security authorities, who arrived at the scene quickly and disposed of the grenade. Further details have not been reported. The security services are working intensively to shed light on the incident.

7,000 Gather in Kosovo To Protest Attack

LD0109215088 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2028 GMT 1 Sep 88

[Excerpts] Pristina, 1 Sep (TANJUG)—About 7,000 Serbs and Montenegrins from this and other neighboring places gathered this evening in the courtyard of the Gracanica Monastery near Pristina to protest against the recent attack on the head of this monument of the Serbian culture, Prioress Tatjana Todorovic. The gathering was organized by the sociopolitical structures of this local community and was attended by representatives of the Pristina LC municipal committee.

The gathering was opened by Vesko Stojkovic, president of the local conference of Gracanica, who first read out the statements of the committee for All-People's Defense and Social Self-Protection of Gracanic and the Provincial Secretariat for Internal Affairs on the barbaric attack by policeman Ahmet Ljatifi on the head of the monastery. "Stojkovic stressed that dramatic events in Kosovo were developing with accelerated tempo into the tragedy of the Serbian and Montenegrin people, who have been leaving their centuries-old hearths because of unbearable pressure. [quotation marks as received] One no longer knows from what direction the threats to members of these nations are coming, he said, because "even the individuals paid to maintain peace and order are involved in filthy deeds such as this case, which gathered all of us." Some policemen of Albanian nationality use their official uniforms to realize the separatist goals of the Albanian population, thus representing the extended arm of Albanian separatism, said Stojkovic. He judged the attack on the 55-year-old prioress to be a premeditated crime whose purpose was to cause anxiety and unrest and stressed that this was not the first time in this environment that members of the security organs appeared as direct perpetrators of brutal attacks on the Serbs and Montenegrins, or as the protectors of those who attack their dignity and honour daily.

While Stojkovic was speaking, slogans were heard such as "Let the people judge him" and "To the gallows with him." Well-known slogans "Kosovo is Serbia," "United Serbia," "New Constitution," and "Down with separatists and armchair politicians" were also voiced. This time roll-calls were even addressed to Kolj Siroka, Azem Vlasi, Bosko Krunic and Petar Matic. At the same time Slobodan Milosevic, president of the Serbian LC Central Committee Presidium, and Marko Orlandic, member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, were cheered.

Apart from the abovementioned—and for such gathering the usual slogans—one of the basic characteristics of this evening's gathering was an appeal to the Albanians to settle accounts with Albanian separatists and nationalists. An appeal was also launched to progressive Albanians calling them to take part in these protest meetings and to condemn Albanian nationalism and separatism.

A well-known Kosovo poet Radoslav Zlatanovic was the first one to launch such an appeal from an improvised platform. He said that "we have nothing against the Albanians, as I am sure that they too suffer from the torture of Kosovo bureaucracy." We have gathered here, added Zlatkovic, not to foment national passions, fratricidal war or bloodshed, but to appeal once again to the Yugoslav leadership to vigorously oppose destruction by Albanian nationalists and separatists. [passage omitted]

The same appeal came from Prioress Tatjana, head of the Gracanica Monastery, who added that the latest attack was not only an attack on her person but also on the dignity of the Serbs and Montenegrins.

At the end of the meeting, which ended after 1 hour, Miroslav Solevic, member of the organizational committee for the organization of departures of Serbs and Montenegrins to meetings and protest gatherings outside Kosovo, briefed those preset on the already convened gatherings in Smederevo, Kovin and Crvenka.

Kosovo Serbs Call For Rally in Bosnia

AU0109191588 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 31 Aug 88 p 10

[M.V. report: "Proposal To Organize a Solidarity Rally in Jajce on 10 September"]

[Text] Pristina, 30 Aug—Considering that in recent days there gave been frequent calls from throughout Bosnia for holding a rally of solidarity with the Serbs and Montenegrins of Kosovo and Metohija, the Council for the Organization of Protest Gatherings of Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo sent a telegram today to the Communal Committee of the Association of Veterans of the National Liberation War in Jajce, asking for a rally of solidarity with Kosovo Serbs and Montenegrins to be organized in Jajce at 1200 on 10 September. This meeting, the telegram states, would be held under the auspices of the Jajce Veterans Association and in cooperation with the town's sociopolitical organizations. The telegram proposes that one of the participants in the National Antifascist Council for the Liberation of Yugoslavia [AVNOJ] should speak at the rally, if possible the hero of the people Osman Arabegovic, and that a representative should speak on behalf of the Serbs and Montenegrins of Kosovo and Metohija.

As the telegram states, the purpose of this rally, as of many organized up till now, is to stem the emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo and Metohija, and to frustrate the tactics of genocide being employed against the non-Albanian population of our province. Explaining the wish for an AVNOJ participant to address the rally, the telegram states that this is because the Albanian nationalists and separatists, like other destroyers of a united Yugoslavia, have cited some AVNOJ decisions. They hide behind these decisions, believing that people are not sufficiently aware of them, and spread separatist ideas through which they seek the secession of Kosovo and Metohija and their incorporation in Albania. Authentic knowledge of the AVNOJ decisions would have a decisive influence in preserving the integrity of Yugoslavia and mobilizing all progressive forces into the incipient action concerning the reform of the sociopolitical system.

"We expect you to understand our problems," the telegram states; "we hope that you will support us completely, and that you will help us, as you have always done, in these fateful days for us, in order that we may preserve the unity of Yugoslavia and remain in our age-old hearths."

Korosec Speaks on Gatherings, Marches

AU0209054488 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 1 Sep 88

["Excerpt" from concluding speech by Stefan Korosec, secretary of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, at his meeting with presidents of the LC city committees of the capitals of the republics and provinces and some large cities in Yugoslavia, in Belgrade on 1 September—recorded]

[Text] I think that it is wrong to regard Serbia alone or Slovenia alone. I think that various forms of self-organization [samoorganizovanje], political self-organization by working people occur in all the republics. We must take a broad view of this. Anything else is wrong, comrades, I may say.

We must take a broad view of this, and there are two things to note above all: first, that this is an expression of dissatisfaction, impotence, mistrust, I may say, and of a grave situation.

Second, I agree, Rados [Smiljanic, president of the Belgrade City LC Committee], that everything you cited comprises constitutional possibilities and that the process of what I would call democratization encourages these various forms of political activities and self-organization, and that this will continue in the future and that we must know that this process of democratization brings such things.

The point appears, however, that we must thoroughly and seriously perceive some of the political dimensions. The first thing I will say is that the Central Committee adopted the view of the Central Committee Presidium, and I will now quote the documents of the Central Committee:

Bearing in mind the harmful implications of the events in Novi Sad, the LCY Central Committee Presidium particularly draws attention to the necessity for the organs of the Central Committees of Serbia, Kosovo, and so forth, in their activities, to prevent the announcement of further mass gatherings, marches, and so forth.

This is the position. An essential question now is whether we possess the political force to prevent this. If we do not possess it, I think that another thing is necessary. As far as I am concerned, at this Central Committee session we must reach a unified assessment, but on the basis of perceiving the entirety of what is happening in our society.

Thus, I do not see this difference. I see a wide approach, I see that here we have a position. Finally, the Central Committee must also reexamine its position. But the position stands. The way that things run now, I think that they add further confusion to the political activities.

Therefore, I see the function of the Central Committee in perceiving the problem as a whole, in all its breadth, and in this we check our own position. In this way we will make a contribution to, I may say, different views.

Sarajevo TV Comments on Rallies, Hunger

AU0209080488 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 29 Aug 88 p 2

[Dubravka Kenic commentary reproduced from Sarajevo television: "The Great Game"]

[Text] The meeting nevertheless took place, in spite of the initial hesitant refusal of the Vrbas authorities, after their meeting with representatives of the notorious Committee of Serbs and Montenegrins, under the pressure of their arguments or fearful of the subsequent political denigrations and accusations of not understanding the Kosovo drama. Drinking water was provided since there are lessons in humiliation. There was also electricity for the microphones, the speakers were agreed on in advance and all of them will be discussed in the press in days to come. A part of the press will carry photographs of the vast crowd, describe the tears and the applause and others will carefully note the few slogans, banners, and cries of a nationalist nature. Was this a meeting at which the people demonstrated its desire for togetherness or the continuation of the "Serbian nationalist movement," will remain an open question about which the Yugoslav press will dispute with gusto and about which Yugoslav policy will keep silent. The 16th session is already far away, the warnings of the party leadership are being evaded and life goes on. Recently, two presidiums from

Kosovo unhesitatingly called the situation in the province dangerous. They once again called to account the Serbian leadership and "Sloba—Freedom," as is written on the banners that are carried in the rallies, the leader [vozd], as MLADINA called him, the chief personality in Serbian politics who, according to the enthusiastic part of the press, is the first person to closely identify with the Serbian people in many years. While the main man of the northern republic [Stanovnik in Slovenia] signs program announcements, as he says, since he admits that he himself wants to be the master in his own house, in other parts of the country, the silence of politics is being filled by an attempt by the press to direct policy. While political solutions have been announced for the fall when we will find out who is and who is not to blame for the endless Kosovo drama and whether it is the ones who have been named or the ones who have done the naming, we cannot ignore the impression that yet another great deception is under way. With inflation of 200 percent, with unemployment, and a lack of money, on the ruins of a failed economy, and after party conferences that even the party has forgotten about, it is best to aim at clay pigeons instead of the real targets in order to preserve ones position and remain in power. The worst has happened: now people are quarreling and not classes, which ensures that the present cadres will remain and the Yugoslav crisis will be eternal. In the interval between the two meetings, today's in Vrbas and the next in Ljubljana or Sarajevo, it does not matter where, teachers will continue to shamefully work for 20 million old dinars a month and the worker class in Pec, Pancevo, and Velika Kladusa will attack the shelves of brown bread. The others, for example, will hold futile debates in air-conditioned offices in the Potemkin-like official buildings of the great systems, gathering their forces for the "status quo" in Neum and other "forbidden towns," and carefully following the relationship of forces and choosing the appropriate stance. If the depth of the Kosovo crisis was not clear to anyone, it should be after the rallies. However, apart from strong evidence these meetings provide of a people's exodus, they stirringly demonstrate a critical point in the Yugoslav revolution as a whole. We want to say that the stomach of a hungry Albanian rumbles just as much as the stomach of a hungry Serb. So that these rumblings may not be heard, the best thing is to loudly bang on nationalist drums, which will not satiate anybody, but will be welcomed by those who do not want to hear the real questions. Could it happen after all the rallies and the rallies against rallies that the Yugoslav worker class will recall the real problems and the real culprits? We think that it could. In this Sunday commentary, we are presenting the view of a worker at the Energoinvest industrial fittings factory which was expressed from behind the rostrum at the Bosnia-Hercegovina Assembly: "We are asking you nicely to see what they are doing to us, the officials down below and up to those in that building in Belgrade: Now they want to divide us on a national basis. They bicker amongst themselves, but we in blue overalls are united."

Newspaper Interviews Kosovo's Koljgeci

AU0109123788 [Editorial Report] Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian on 19 August on page 4 carries a 3,500-word interview with Remzi Koljgeci, president of the Presidency of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo, by Milos Antic and Danilo Erakovic, place and date not given, and on 20-21 August on page 6 adds a 700-word passage with the explanation: "Through a technical omissions in BORBA printing shop, Comrade's Koljgeci's interview was published in some of yesterday's issues without the answers to these question," which are then provided.

Answering the first question in the main part of the interview about what problems he expected to be confronted with on assuming office, Koljgeci says:

"I was aware that in the nightmare Kosovo situation, charged with most varied perceptions of the situation and contradictory assessments, innumerable tasks were waiting for me, particularly because of the fact that I am one of those who were born under socialism and who know the time when everybody, or almost everybody here in Kosovo, believed that we were building a happier life together, and the fact that I had the misfortune to see and to live through the most destructive activities by Albanian nationalists and separatists and the attempts to destroy our common aims, and again because of the specific, most direct task that I should do everything in my power so that the Albanian people, deluded, manipulated, and deceived by the separatists, should open their eyes and use their brains instead of following romantic delusions injected by evil ideology."

Asked about the counterrevolution in Kosovo and the views of some people that one can combat it gently, Koljgeci says:

"These are delusions. The counterrevolution attempt and ourselves—these are not two sports teams about which we can freely decide whom to support. The attempts at counterrevolution must be combated with the same means that the counterrevolution itself imposes. We must also struggle for the separation of those who are loyal to Yugoslavia and those who are in favor of some 'second' or 'third' Yugoslavia, or who even call on some other country 'to be the master.' This is our duty."

Asked about "informal groups" in Kosovo, Koljgeci says:

"It seems to me that an explanation is very much needed here. We believe nobody in this country has any reason to organize outside the SAWP, the local community, the branch, the LC, the work organization, and so forth. I am personally prepared to go to any such gathering, if the people request it. Let them gather in a field if they want to, I will talk with them as equals. However, it is not good that people—in this case a number of Serbs and

Montenegrins and others—have begun to decide in favor of certain forms of gathering outside the legal structures, which so-called 'leaders,' 'committees,' and the like try to exploit for their own aims."

Asked about the reasons for such gatherings, Koljgeci replies:

"Waging the struggle against the attempts of counterrevolution after 1981, the Kosovo leadership and all the organized forces have been losing sight of real life and the needs of the people. Certain communities were thus left to themselves. The LC has also failed, and a vacuum thus remained in these communities. In parallel with this, pressure by separatists has done its part. Lacking sufficient protection in the organs of authority and the institutions of the system and even in the political structures, some people, primarily Serbs and Montenegrins, began to organize themselves. This has been particularly manifested in the past year or two. In this situation, individuals who in my opinion do not care much for a settlement of the situation in Kosovo began to push forward. The LC should have resolutely dissociated itself from those who have been causing destruction. All this increasingly frequent 'naming of names' of leaders is a result of the fact that many accumulated problems are not being solved.

"Arguments Against Passion [subhead]

"The people who have a difficult life in some communities, who live in a shaken security situation, believe that the most responsible cadres are at fault. Therefore this 'name-calling' occurs, which is becoming a habit all over the country. To make it quite clear: I am in favor of name-calling, but only with clear evidence. After all, should I 'use up' my entire term of office if I have erred during it? And another thing: The causes for the name-calling that I have cited are only some of the causes: there are in fact many others. They differ from case to case. Some name-calling is a cloak for destruction. Some cadres in Kosovo are named who really struggle for the good of all the people in Kosovo and beyond."

Asked about a constitutional crisis in Serbia, Koljgeci says:

"There can be no constitutional crisis, simply because we have a Constitution. It is a matter of supplementing it. Regarding a Kosovo-Vojvodina coalition which would act destructively on constitutional changes, I state with all responsibility that I hear this for the first time. Certain differences indeed exist in our views on some constitutional amendment proposals, but I hope they will be smoothed out in the course of discussion."

The main portion of the interview concludes with the following questions and answers:

"[Question] Does the province, or do you, strive for a certain amount of statehood?

"[Koljgeci] No. However, I am an advocate of a faster development of democratic relations in the republic, of an enhancement of the workers class power, and finally, of a clear definition of the rights of the republic on all its territory, as well as a clear definition of the rights of the provinces within the SR of Serbia and Yugoslavia, but in the spirit of the LCY premises.

"[Question] Can you say something about the proposed amendments to the Constitution of the SR of Serbia?

"[Koljgeci] I think that one will have to work further on the amendments where in my opinion everything has not been finally settled regarding the rights that the republic should have on its entire territory: the organization of defense, security, the judiciary, planning, cooperation in foreign policy, and so forth. Precisely in the part that leaves some space for differences in views, the proposed amendments as I see them differ, or more correctly 'clash' with what has been decided by the Assembly of the SR of Serbia and what the assemblies of the provinces have supported. However, I am optimistic that we will overcome these differences through joint efforts.

"[Question] Who will overcome these differences, the people or the leaderships?

"[Koljgeci] I am not a champion of facile invocations of the people in matters that should be cleared up by science above all and that should pass through the set procedure in the constitutional commissions. Only afterwards should we present the case to the people. Therefore I do not think that we in leadership structures should run ahead with our statements that may dangerously politicize the people to the extent that may mean a further deterioration of the relations among nationalities that have been disturbed anyhow, at least in Kosovo. Unfortunately, there have been plenty such statements so far.

"[Question] Finally, do you fear the coming constitutional discussions?

"[Koljgeci] Not if reason and realism prevail, and if we successfully overcome the differences between the leaderships of the SR of Serbia and the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo as well as in the country in general, considering that Kosovo is Yugoslav and that it lies in the SR of Serbia. I hope that serious preparations are being done for the discussion of the constitutional changes and that neither those forces that used to demand a republic [in Kosovo] or those forces that want to return the provinces to the position prior to 1974 will have a voice."

In the portion of the interview carried in 20-21 August BORBA, Koljgeci is quoted as having said: "All nationalisms must be combated in Kosovo. One knows that the Albanian is most dangerous, but we must not underestimate the phenomena and the protagonists of the Serbia

and Montenegrin nationalism. In this struggle, the LC of Kosovo, of Serbia, and of Yugoslavia must lead the way, but primarily the LC of Kosovo."

He is asked about the activities of Serbian nationalism and replies:

"Unfortunately, individual manifestations of Serbian nationalism occurred precisely at the single-nationality gatherings. This of course does not mean that these gatherings were nationalistic, but we said that they contained nationalistic manifestations. If those present do not react in time to such nationalistic manifestations, they may assume wider proportions.

Secondly, Serbian nationalism in Kosovo cannot be regarded and analyzed in an isolated way. It must be regarded more widely: through its activities in Kosovo and through the activities from other communities toward Kosovo.

Asked about the recent report by the Federal Secretariat for Internal Affairs on the situation in Kosovo, Koljgeci says:

"I cannot say anything about the report. Not only I, but nobody in the province can, for the simple reason that the document has not been submitted to us. As president of the the Presidency, I have indeed been informed that such a document is under preparation, but I declare that I have been informed about its content only through the information media. How can we then direct our actions in the direction of improving the security situation, Koljgeci asked with wonder, and said: I cannot understand why we in Kosovo have been bypassed, regardless of the fact that I have full faith in the organs that prepared the analysis of the situation in the province.

"In such a situation I wonder whether it is good that the Presidency of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo of the Provincial Committee of the LC of Kosovo are informed about a portion of the report by the Federal wecretariat for Internal Affairs through the media," Koljgeci says.

Flight Control Agency Calls Off 10 Sep Strike

LD0109131488 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1110 GMT 1 Sep 88

[Text] Belgrade, 1 Sep. (TANJUG)—The Presidium of the Conference of the Trade Union Organization for the Federal Flight Control Administration has adopted a decision annulling the original decision to hold a work stoppage on 10 September.

It was decided that the problems in the Federal Flight Control Administration are already being resolved and can be resolved in a regular manner and on self-managing and lasting bases. The decision was reached on the basis of the previous activities of all those engaged in overcoming this problem, especially the council of the Federal Flight Control Administration's work community, the basic trade union organization, the LC action conference, and other competent and involved subjects.

Ban on NEDELJNA DALMACIJA Lifted

AU0109191088 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 31 Aug 88 p 11

[R.K. report: "Ban on NEDELJNA DALMACIJA Lifted"]

[Text] Split, 30 Aug—The bench of Split District Court, presided over by Brank Seric, did not accept the Split district prosecutor's proposal for a long-term ban of issue No 904 of NEDELJNA DALMACIJA of 28 August. The hearing failed to established that the articles in the satirical column "Feral" were socially hostile, as the prosecutor had held. The district public prosecutor has the right of appeal.

However, the NEDELJNA DALMACIJA Council Presidium has discussed the articles, and has stated its view that parts of the column are rather vulgar and primitive, but that this is a case of editorial misjudgment rather than a hostile act constituting an attack on the sociopolitical system, as the Kastel political leadership has claimed.

Mikulic, Others Greet Iraq's Ramadan

LD0109182688 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1343 GMT 01 Sep 88

[Text] Belgrade, 1 Sep (TANJUG)—At the inviatation of FEC President Branko Mikulic, Taha Yasin Ramadan, member of the Supreme Committee of the Revolution Command Council and first deputy prime minister of Iraq, arrived today on a 2-day official working visit to Yugoslavia.

At Belgrade airport, Ramadan was given a formal welcome. The distinguished guest was welcomed by Branko Mikulic, president of the FEC; Janez Zemljaric, vice president of the FEC; Budimir Loncar, federal secretary for foreign affairs; Dzevad Mujezinovic, a member of the FEC; Radenko Zunic, vice president of the Serbian Executive Council; Zoran Miskovic, secretary general of the FEC; and other Yugoslav personalities.

Iraq's Ambassador in the SFRY Mamduh 'Abd al-Hamid, was at the welcoming ceremony with members of the embassy.

The talks between Mikulic and Ramadan begin later in the day.

Good Relations Stressed

JN0109184388 Baghdad INA in Arabic 1740 GMT 1 Sep 88

[Text] Belgrade, 1 Sep (INA)—Taha Yasin Ramadan, RCC member and first deputy prime minister, met here today with Branko Mikulic, president of the SFRY Federal Executive Council.

Taha Yasin Ramadan and Mikulic expressed the two countries leaderships' satisfaction with and pride in the march of relations and their progress. They affirmed that the next stage must witness distinctive activity in the field of enhancing trade exchange and economic and technical cooperation as well as the expansion of the activity of SFRY establishments in the implementation of many development projects in Iraq.

Ramadan and Mikulic referred to the presence of numerous possibilities and fields that can be exploited to enhance the march of cooperation through joint, serious work.

The first deputy prime minister expressed the pride of President Saddam Husayn and the Iraqi leadership and people in Yugoslavia's stands and efforts to achieve peace between Iraq and Iran. He also expressed Iraq's genuine interest in promoting cooperation in all fields.

The president of the Yugoslav Federal Executive Council affirmed that the Yugoslav leadership is very interested in promoting its relations with Iraq, referring to the Yugoslav establishments' eagerness to expand their trade, economic, and technical activities with Iraq.

Mikulic praised Iraq's serious and clear efforts to achieve a durable and comprehensive peace with Iran.

Meanwhile, Taha Yasin Ramadan placed a wreath on the tomb of late Yugoslav President Tito. He noted down a statement in the visitors book in which he praised President Tito's role and contribution to the Nonaligned Movement.

Iranian Message Carried to Dizdarevic

LD0109091688 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1431 GMT 31 Aug 88

[Text] Belgrade, 31 Aug (TANJUG)—Seyyed 'Ali Khamene'i, president of the Islamic Republic of Iran, today extended a message to Raif Dizdarevic, president of the SFRY Presidency. The message refers to the latest development of the situation in the region after the cease-fire agreement between Iran and Iraq, and the opening of peace negotiations in Geneva. The message also expresses interest in the further promotion of friendly relations and cooperation between Yugoslavia and Iran, and the desire to exchange views with Yugoslavia about the questions connected with the success of the peace process and the establishment of just and permanent peace between Iran and Iraq. The message was handed over by Mohammad Hoseyn Lavasani, deputy minister of foreign affairs of Iran, who arrived in Belgrade in the capacity of special envoy.

The reception was attended by Mohammad Javad Asayesh-Zarchi, ambassador of Iran to Yugoslavia, and Kazimir Vidas, assistant federal secretary for foreign affairs.

Foreign Affairs Secretariat on Southern Africa

AU0109130088 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 30 Aug 88 p 5

[TANJUG report: "Support for a Solution to the Problem of Southern Africa"]

[Text] Belgrade, 29 Aug—Yugoslavia has always supported every peace initiative based on the principles and decisions of the United Nations and the stances and conclusions of the movement of nonaligned countries, which would lead to a solution to the problem of South Africa, permit relations to be normalized, and ensure unhindered economic development and good-neighborly relations and cooperation in this African region, the Yugoslav Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs announced today.

In this sense, we also support the peace talks among the four sides, as well as all solutions acceptable to Angola, other "frontline" countries, and the liberation movements of Southern Africa, which are aimed at ensuring a lasting peace in the region, says the announcement of the Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs. At this time, we consider the agreement on a cease-fire which was reached at the last round of talks in Geneva and the expressed readiness of all interested parties to shortly proclaim the independence of Namibia on the basis of Resolution 435 of the United Nations, to be of particular importance. If it is consistently implemented, then this will certainly represent the historical act of ending decolonization in Africa, the statement stressed.

However, complete solutions for ensuring a more lasting peace in the region also certainly imply a halt to all types of military operation in Angola and Mozambique, as well as a final end to apartheid and race discrimination in South Africa, which Yugoslavia also advocates.

Bilateral Trade With Romania Falling

AU0109200988 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 1 Sep 88

[Text] The greatest fall in Yugoslavia's trade with a socialist country is marked in trade with Romania. The prospects until the end of this year are not rosy, and both sides would be happy if the previous year's level of trade were to be reached. This was said at a meeting of the section for Romania in the Yugoslav Chamber of Economy. Milan Nedic reports:

Trade in 1988 was envisaged at $550 million in both directions; but in the first half of the year, only $100 million were achieved. Trade is determined by chemicals, nonferrous metals, and iron and steel. Agricultural produce and consumer goods barely crossed the Yugoslav-Romanian border, and local border traffic has been falling for years.

The reasons for poor trade, without any arrangements on the basis of joint investment and joint trading in third markets, lie above all in the shortage of raw materials and energy in Romania, as well as in the difficulties in this neighboring country connected with the accelerated repayment of foreign loans this year. The Romanian partners therefore often insist on cash payments, and on our importing Romanian products.

Therefore, it is no wonder that experts and businessmen on both sides would be happy if trade by the end of the year amounted to $220 million, as in 1987. Some positive trends may be expected in future cooperation, especially after the session of the mixed committee for economic and scientific and technical cooperation between Yugoslavia and Romania, which will be held at the Zagreb Fair between 10 and 13 September; the two countries' ministers for economic relations with foreign countries will also meet there.